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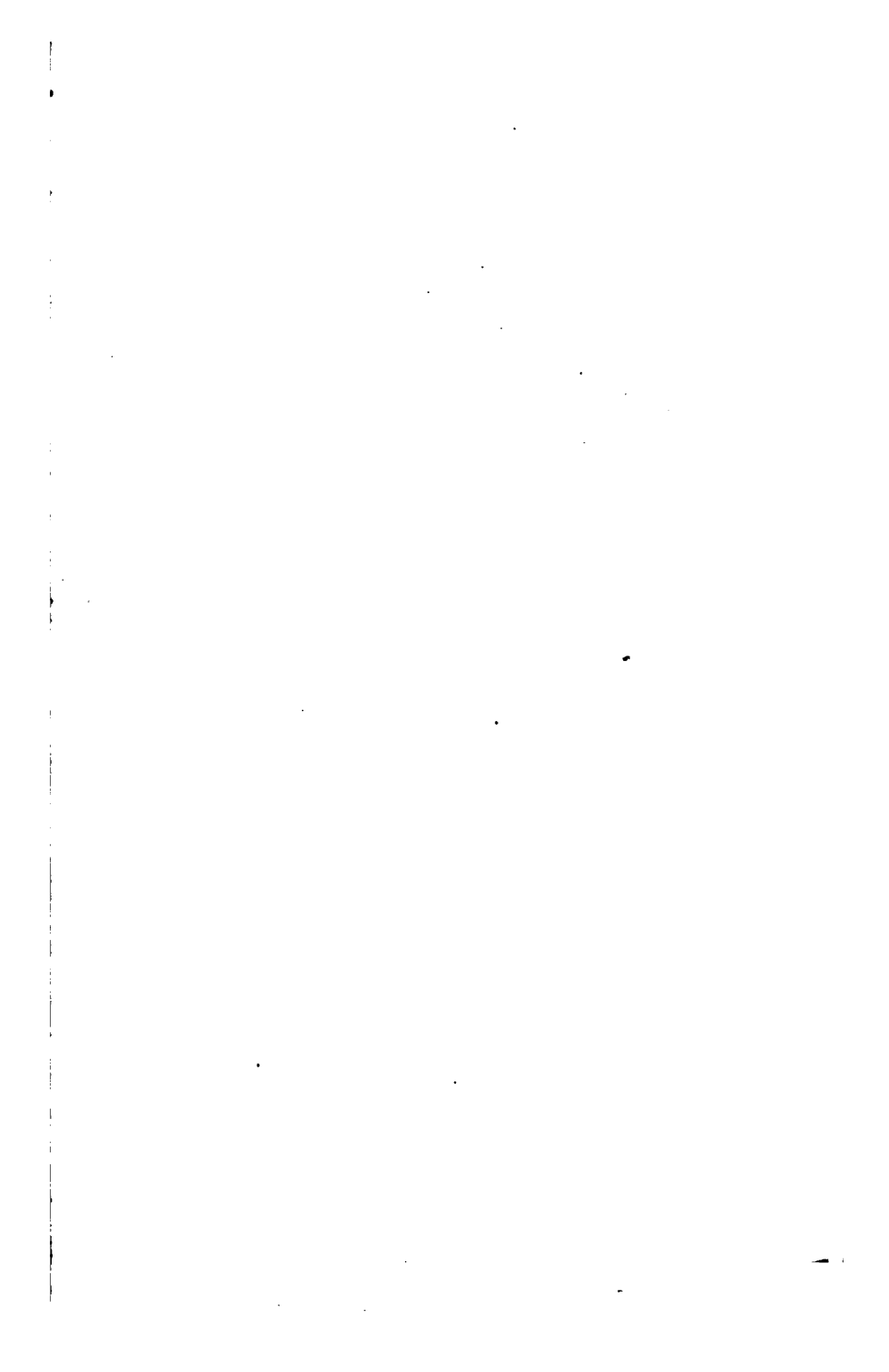
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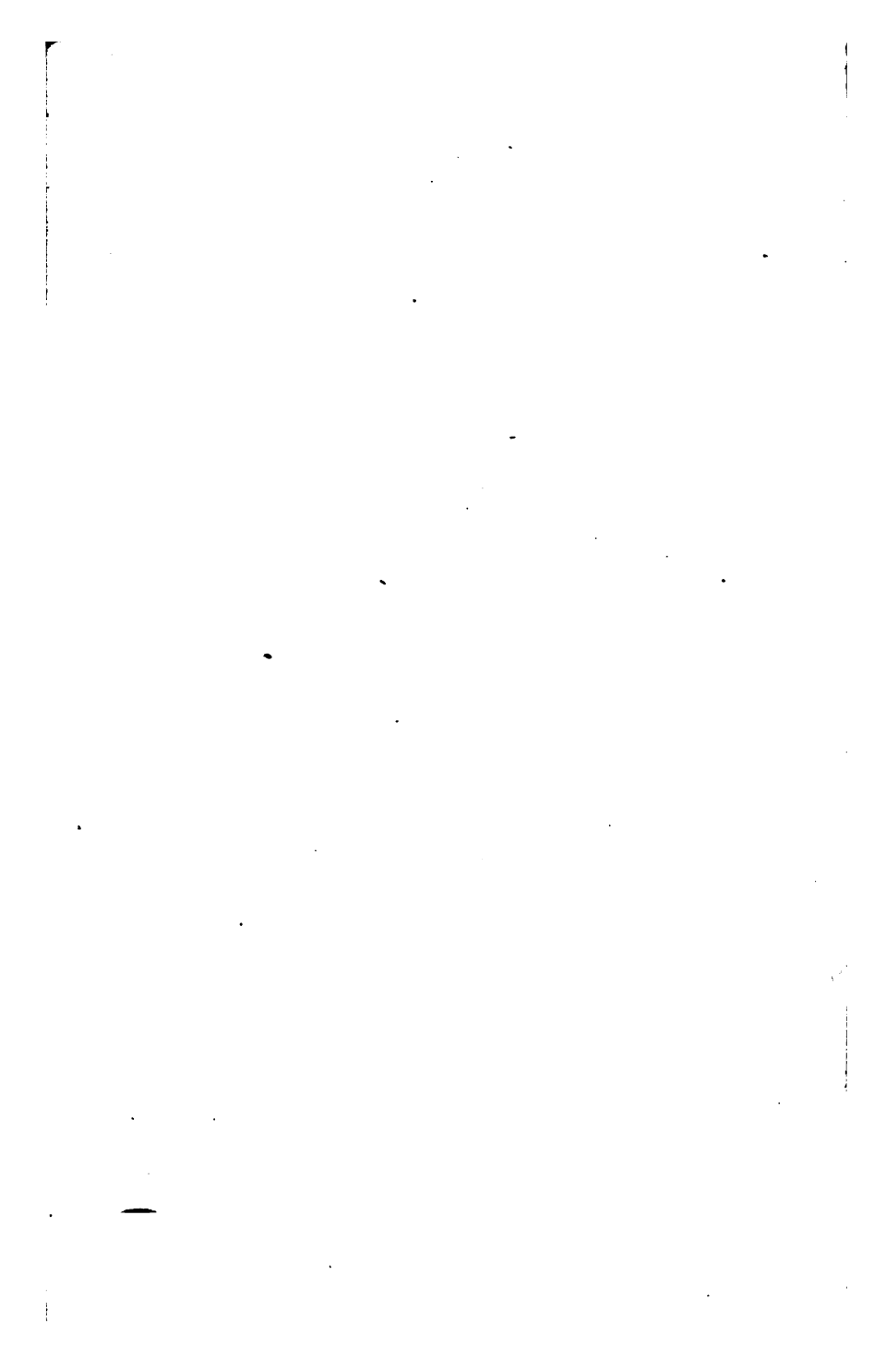
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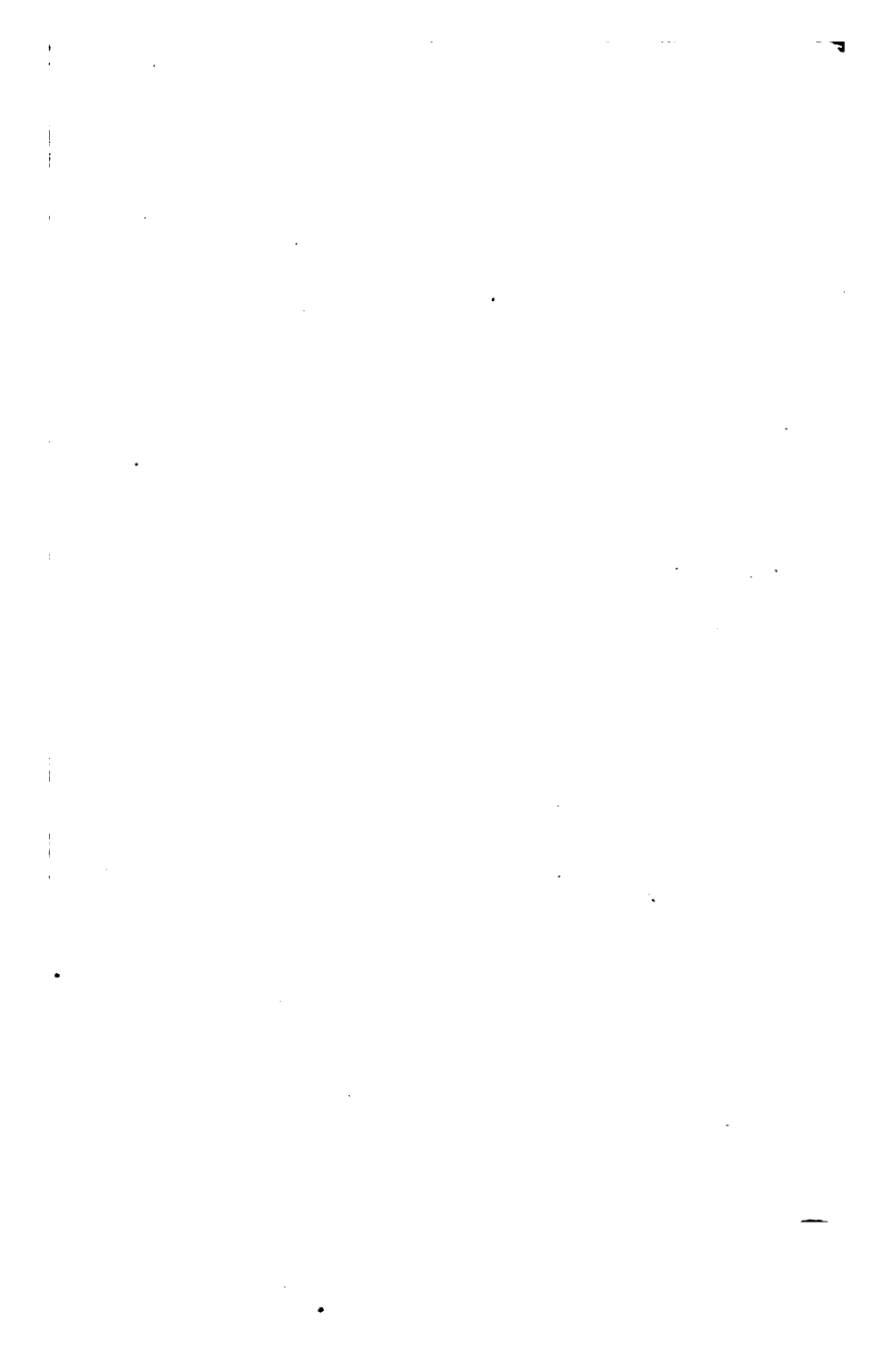
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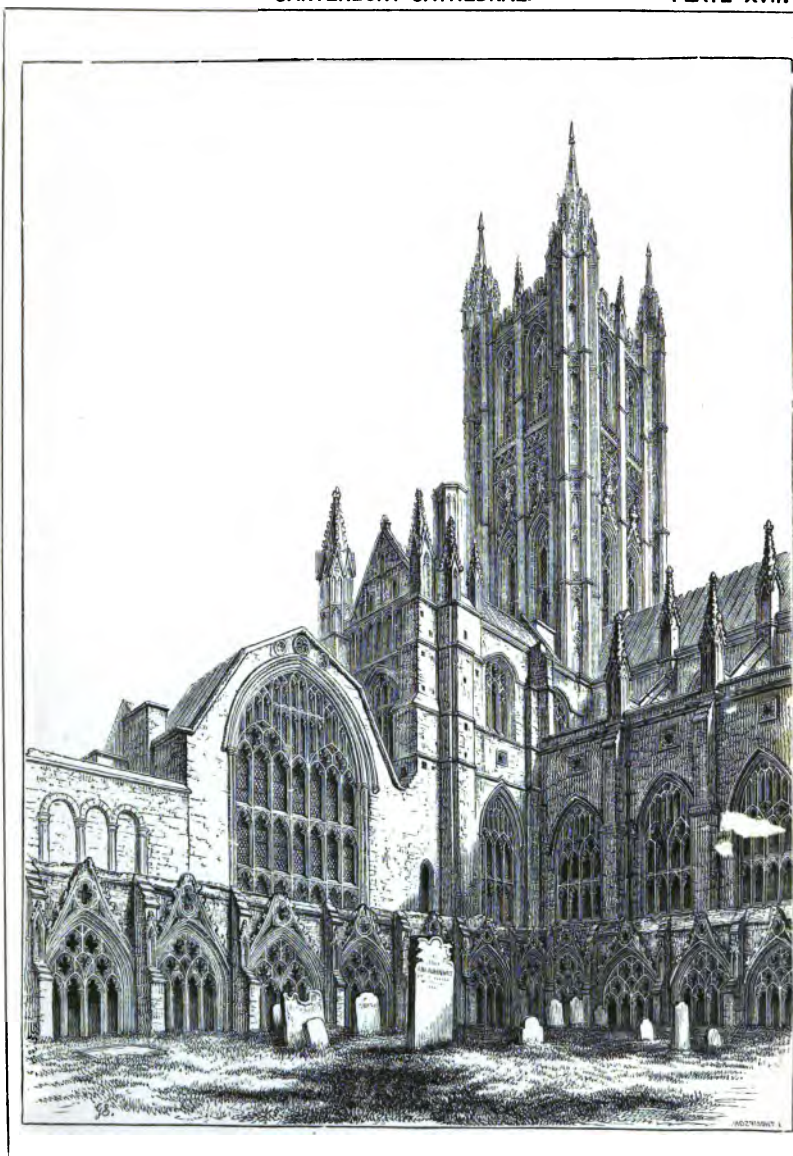












CHAPTER HOUSE AND ANGEL TOWER.

HANDBOOK

TO THE

Southern Division.

PART II.

CHICHESTER—CANTERBURY.
ROCHESTER.

LONDON.

J. H. AND JAS. PARKER, ONYON.

1861



HANDBOOK
TO THE
CATHEDRALS OF ENGLAND.

[a]

Southern Division.

PART II.
CHICHESTER.—CANTERBURY.
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With Illustrations.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

J. H. AND JAS. PARKER, OXFORD.

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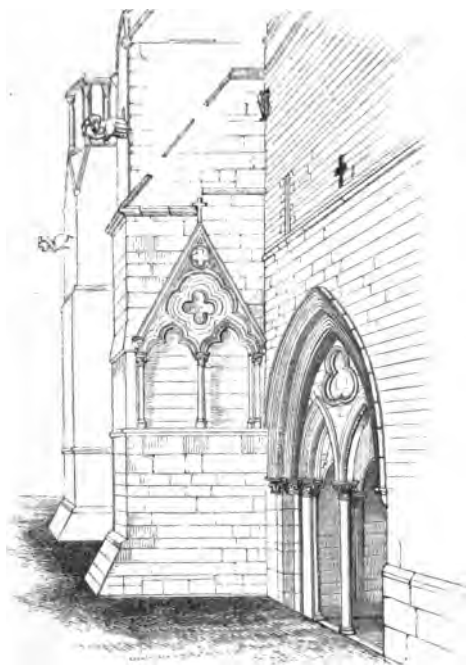
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CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

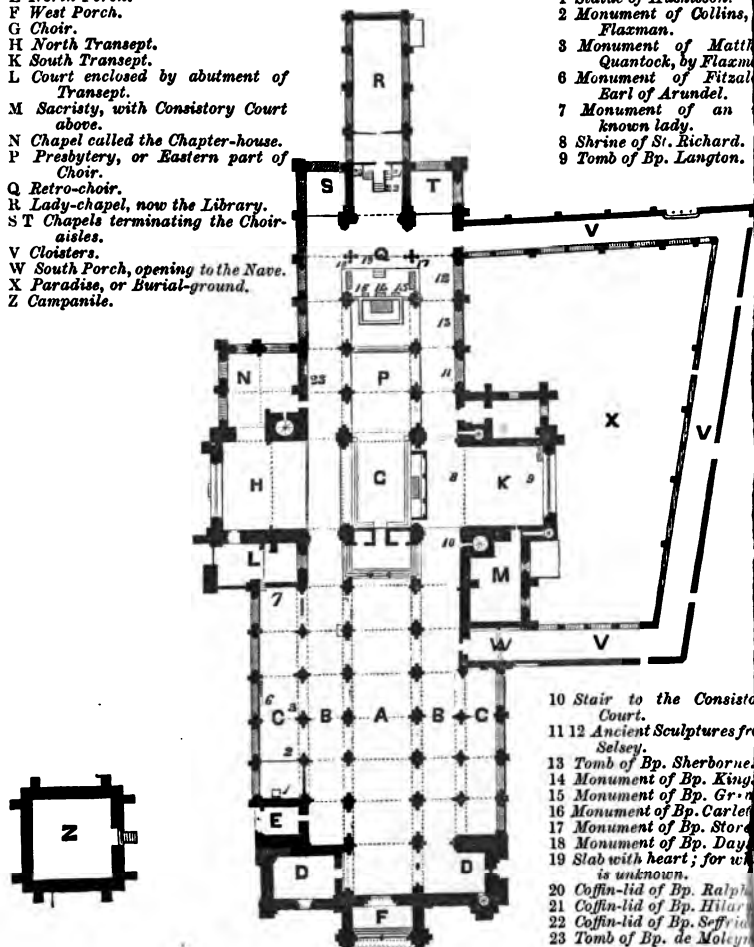


NORTH PORCH.

REFERENCES.

- A Nave.
- BB } Nave-aisles.
- CC }
- DD Western Towers.
- E North Porch.
- F West Porch.
- G Choir.
- H North Transept.
- K South Transept.
- L Court enclosed by abutment of Transept.
- M Sacristy, with Consistory Court above.
- N Chapel called the Chapter-house.
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- Q Retro-choir.
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- 6 Monument of Fitzal Earl of Arundel.
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GROUND-PLAN, CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



SOUTH TRANSEPT.



CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

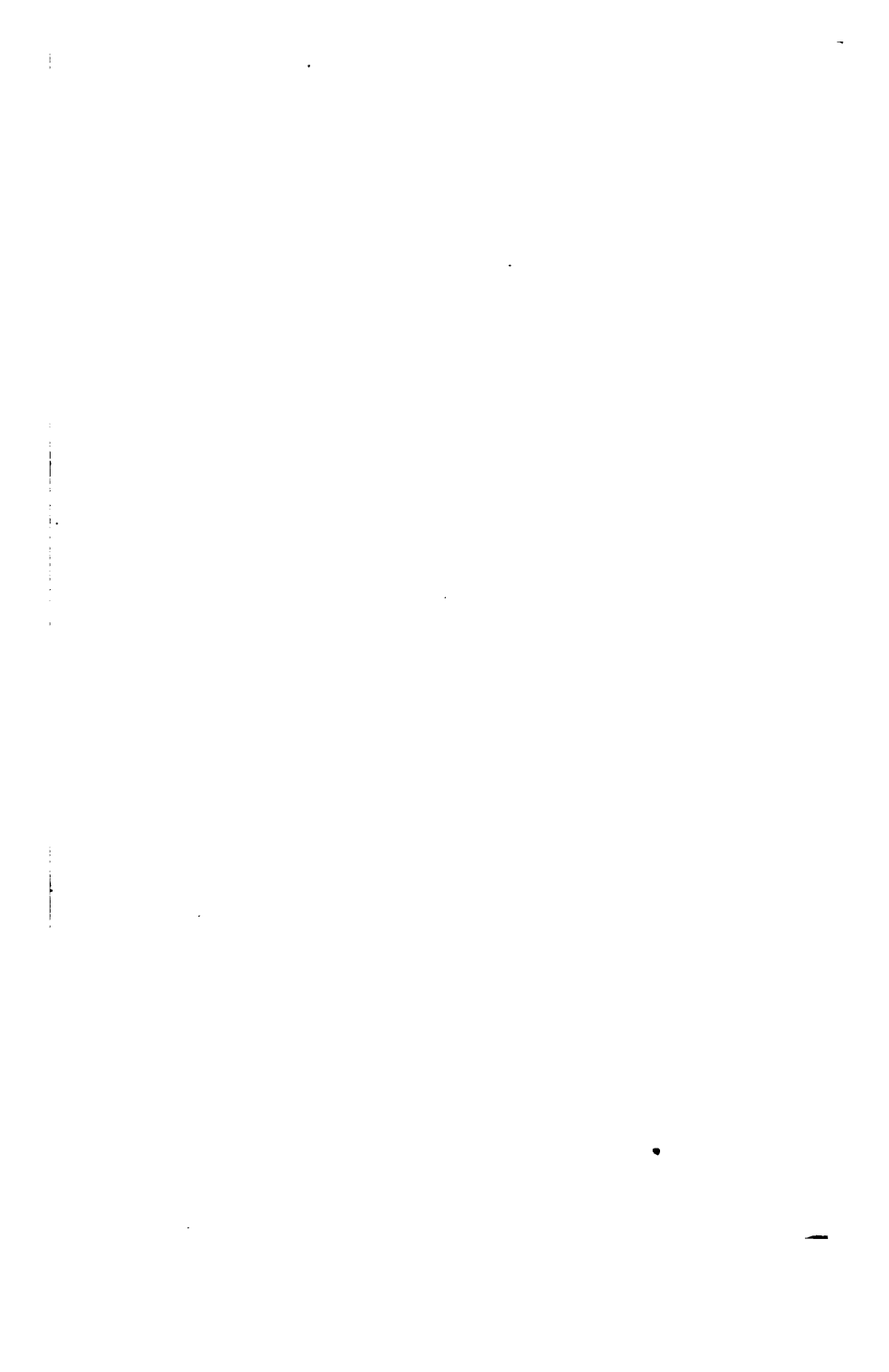
I. FOR the history of the removal, after the Conquest, of the South Saxon see from Selsey to Chichester, see Part II. A monastery, dedicated to St. Peter, existed at that time within the walls of Chichester, partly on the site of the present cathedral. The church of this monastery seems at first to have served as that of the see. A cathedral, however, was built by Ralph, the third bishop.

This was completed in 1108, and partly destroyed by fire in 1114. Its restoration was commenced by the same Bishop RALPH; and the church was far advanced at his death in 1123, but was not ready for consecration until the year 1148.

II. Much of this church remains in the existing cathedral. It again suffered from fire, however, in 1187; and on its restoration was greatly enlarged and altered by Bishop SEFFRED II. (1180—1204), who, says Fuller, “bestowed the cloth and making on the church, whilst Bishop Sherborne gave the trimming and best lace thereto, in the reign of Henry VII.” As far as the eastern termination of the choir the present church is

the work of Bishops RALPH and SEFFRID, with the exception of the two outer aisles of the nave, which were added in the middle of the thirteenth century, probably under Bishop NEVILLE (1223—1244). The retro-choir, of transitional character, belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century, and although it has been attributed to the same Bishop Seffrid II., who altered Ralph's cathedral, is certainly of later date. The Lady-chapel beyond is the work of Bishop GILBERT DE ST. LEOFARD (1288—1305). The central tower above the roof, dates from the first half, and the spire which surmounts it from the end, of the fourteenth century. The campanile, or detached bell-tower, was built by Bishop JOHN DE LANGTON (1305—1336). The "lace and trimmings" of Bishop SHERBORNE (1507—1536) appear in the upper portion of the choir-stalls, and in the decorations of the south transept.

III. The sole event of importance in the later history of the cathedral was its occupation by the Parliamentary troops after the taking of Chichester by Sir William Waller in 1643. The soldiers "brake down the organ, and dashed the pipes with their pole-axes, crying in scoff, 'Harke how the organs goe!'" and after the thanksgiving sermon for the fall of the city, which was preached in the cathedral, they "ran up and down with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments of the dead, and hacking the seats and stalls." Considerable repairs and restorations were made both within and without the building from 1843 to 1856; still more important alterations, by which the nave has been





GENERAL VIEW FROM WEST STREET.

adapted for public worship, were completed in 1859; and extensive works are still (1860) in progress, under the direction of William Slater, Esq., which will be more particularly noticed as we proceed.

IV. The best general external views of the cathedral will be gained from the city wall to the north, from West-street [Plate I.], and from East-street looking west; the latter (in which Bishop Storey's cross groups with the cathedral) is a very picturesque and striking view, which should be looked out for toward sunset. An excellent distant prospect, backed by the Goodwood Downs, may be obtained from the road south of the city, after passing the railway-station.

V. We may now commence our survey of the cathedral,—“A very interesting pile on many accounts,” says Southey, “and much finer than books or common report had led me to expect.” Notwithstanding its small dimensions, the appearance of the church externally is pleasing, and it is even a question whether the central *spire* is not “better proportioned to the church it crowns, and of a more pleasing outline,” than the far more lofty one at Salisbury*, in imitation of which it is said to

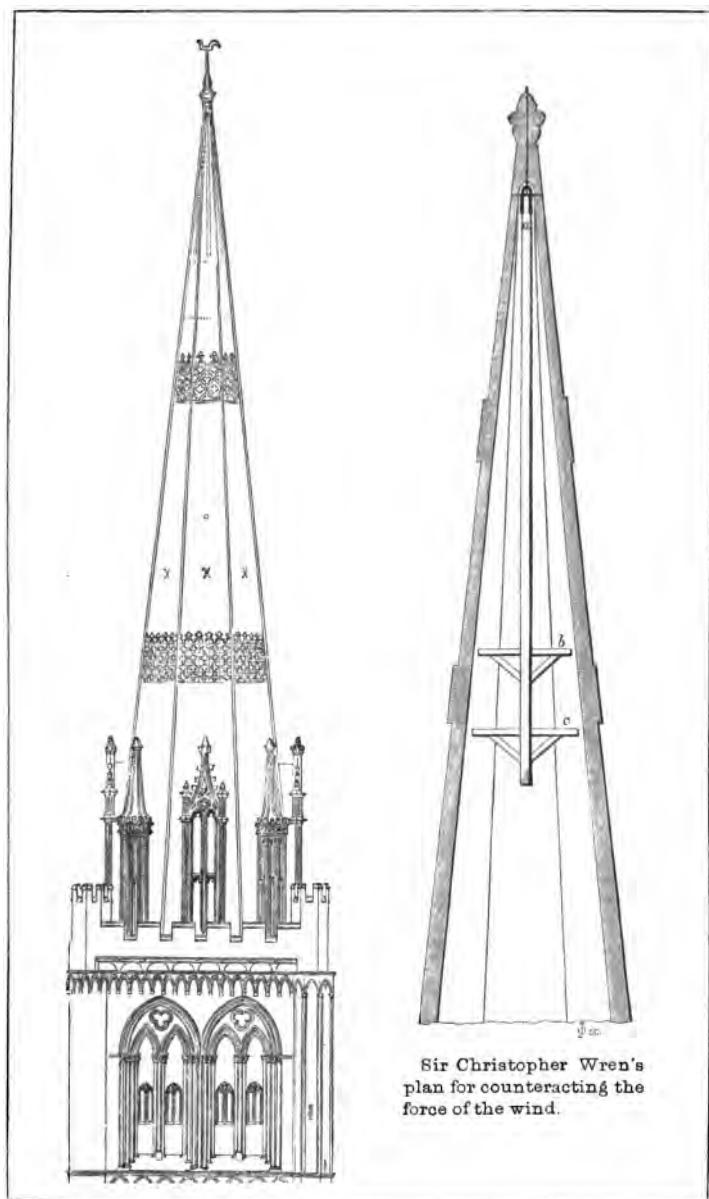
* “The angle at the summit is about thirteen degrees. At Salisbury, Norwich, Louth, and generally in all the tallest English spires, it is only ten degrees, which is certainly too slender. On the Continent, in the best examples, as at Cologne, Friburg, and others, it is about fifteen or sixteen degrees, which, unless the spire is of open-work, or very much ornamented, is, on the other hand, too low. As a general rule, it may be well to bear in mind that the spires of Continental churches have generally an angle of about one-sixth of a right angle at their apex; in Eng-

have been built^b. It dates from the end of the fourteenth century, but it is uncertain under what bishop it was erected. [Plate II.] The spire is octagonal, having in each face a two-light window, flanked by buttresses, and is surrounded by two broad ornamental bands of very elegant design. The summit is 271 feet from the ground (the height of Salisbury is 404 feet). "In Salisbury and Chichester alone is there a visible centre and axis to the whole cathedral, viz. the summit of the spire and a line let fall from it to the ground. Salisbury was so constructed at first. Chichester spire was made exactly central, to an inch, by the additions of the Lady-chapel and the west porch. Michael Angelo's 'most perfect' outline, the pyramidal, is thus gained. The eye is carried upward to the spire-point from the chapels clustering at the base, along the roof and pinnacles, a result to which a certain squareness of detail in the abaci of the capitals, of the nook-shafts which adorn the openings materially contributes^c." The central *tower*, from which the spire rises, is early Decorated (geometrical), and may have been raised by Bishop JOHN DE LANGTON (1305—1336). The double

land of one-ninth. The spires of Chichester and Lichfield vary from twelve to thirteen degrees, or a mean between these two proportions, and from this circumstance are more pleasing than either."—*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 856.

^b It is popularly said that the "master mason built Salisbury spire and his man Chichester spire." That of Salisbury was begun in 1335 and completed in 1375. See SALISBURY.

^c Rev. P. Freeman, Transactions of the Sussex Archæological Society, vol. i.



TOWER AND SPIRE.

window-openings in each of its four sides are very graceful.

The upper part of the spire was taken down and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren; who, says his biographer Elmes, "fixed therein a pendulum stage to counteract the effects of the south and south-west gales of wind which act with considerable power against it, and had forced it from its perpendicularity." (See Plate II.) "To the finial is fastened a strong metal ring, and to that is suspended a large piece of yellow fir-timber (a), 10 feet long and 13 inches square; the masonry at the apex of the spire being from 9 inches to 6 inches thick, diminishing as it rises. The pendulum is loaded with iron, adding all its weight to the finial; and has two stout, solid oak floors,—the lower one (c) smaller by about 3, and the upper one (b) by about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, than the octagonal masonry that surrounds it. The effect in a storm is surprising and satisfactory. While the wind blows high against the vane and spire, the pendulum floor touches on the lee side, and its aperture is double on the windward: at the cessation, it oscillates slightly, and terminates in a perpendicular. The rest of the spire is quite clear of scaffolding. This contrivance is doubtless one of the most ingenious and appropriate of its great inventor's applications."

VI. The *west front*, originally Norman, is divided into three stories, surmounted by a gable. It is flanked by towers, of which that on the northern side has been destroyed (it is said, during the Rebellion) from the

first story upward. The southern tower has been enlarged by Early English buttresses; and is entirely Early English above the third story. The great west window, of early Decorated character, is modern. The central porch is Early English, and of the same date and character as the south porch which opens into the cloisters. In an elongated quatrefoil over the portal was the figure adopted as the arms of the see, commonly called a "Prester John seiant," but in reality the *Salvator Mundi*. This no longer exists. A *north porch*, also of Early English date, is nestled between the termination of the aisle and the north-west tower.

VII. On entering the *nave* the eye is at once caught by the five aisles, a peculiarity shared by no other English cathedral but that of Manchester, although some parish churches have it on a smaller scale, as Taunton and Coventry. On the Continent the increased number of aisles is common, witness Beauvais, Cologne, Milan, Seville, and seven-aisled Antwerp. Grand effects of light and shade are produced by these five aisles: remark especially the view from the extreme north-east corner of the north aisle, looking across the cathedral. [Plate III.] The great depth of the triforium shadows is owing to the unusual width of this wall passage. The breadth of the nave (91 feet) is greater than that of any other English cathedral except York (103 feet).

The first two stories of the south-west tower at the end of the nave deserve examination. The rude, long capitals, and plain circular arches, probably indicate



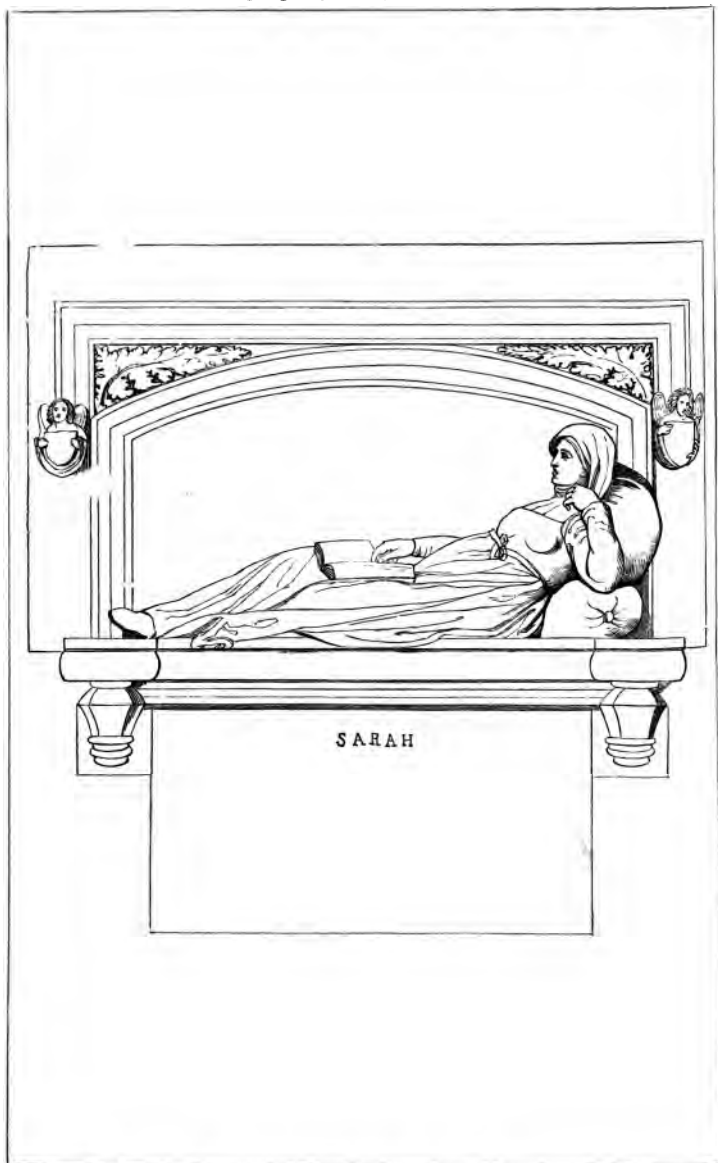
NAVE, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

that it formed a part of the first church completed by Bishop Ralph, in 1108. The nave itself, as far as the top of the triforium, and the two aisles immediately adjoining, are the work of the same Bishop (died 1123),—or should perhaps be described as having formed part of the Norman cathedral completed in 1148. The clerestory above, and the shafts of Purbeck marble which lighten the piers, are Seffrid's additions (died 1204). The vaulting is perhaps somewhat later; and it was because it was determined, after the burning of 1187, to replace with a stone vault the wooden roofs to which the frequent fires had been owing, that Seffrid carried up his vaulting shafts along the face of the Norman piers, some of which he recased. The two exterior aisles, north and south, were probably added under Bishop NEVILLE (died 1244), when it became necessary to provide additional room for chantries and relic-shrines. The positions of the various altars are marked by the piscinas and aumbries in the walls. The two, however, occur together in the south aisle alone; in the north are aumbries only, an arrangement possibly resulting from the feeling with which that quarter was always anciently regarded. A certain triplicity pervades all this part of the cathedral, which was dedicated by Bishop Seffrid to the Holy Trinity. The side shafts are triple throughout. The bearing-shafts of the vaulting are clustered in threes, and branch out with three triple vaulting-ribs above. The transitional character of Bishop Seffrid's work is especially marked in the clerestory, the inner arcade of which

is pointed, whilst the windows themselves are round-headed.

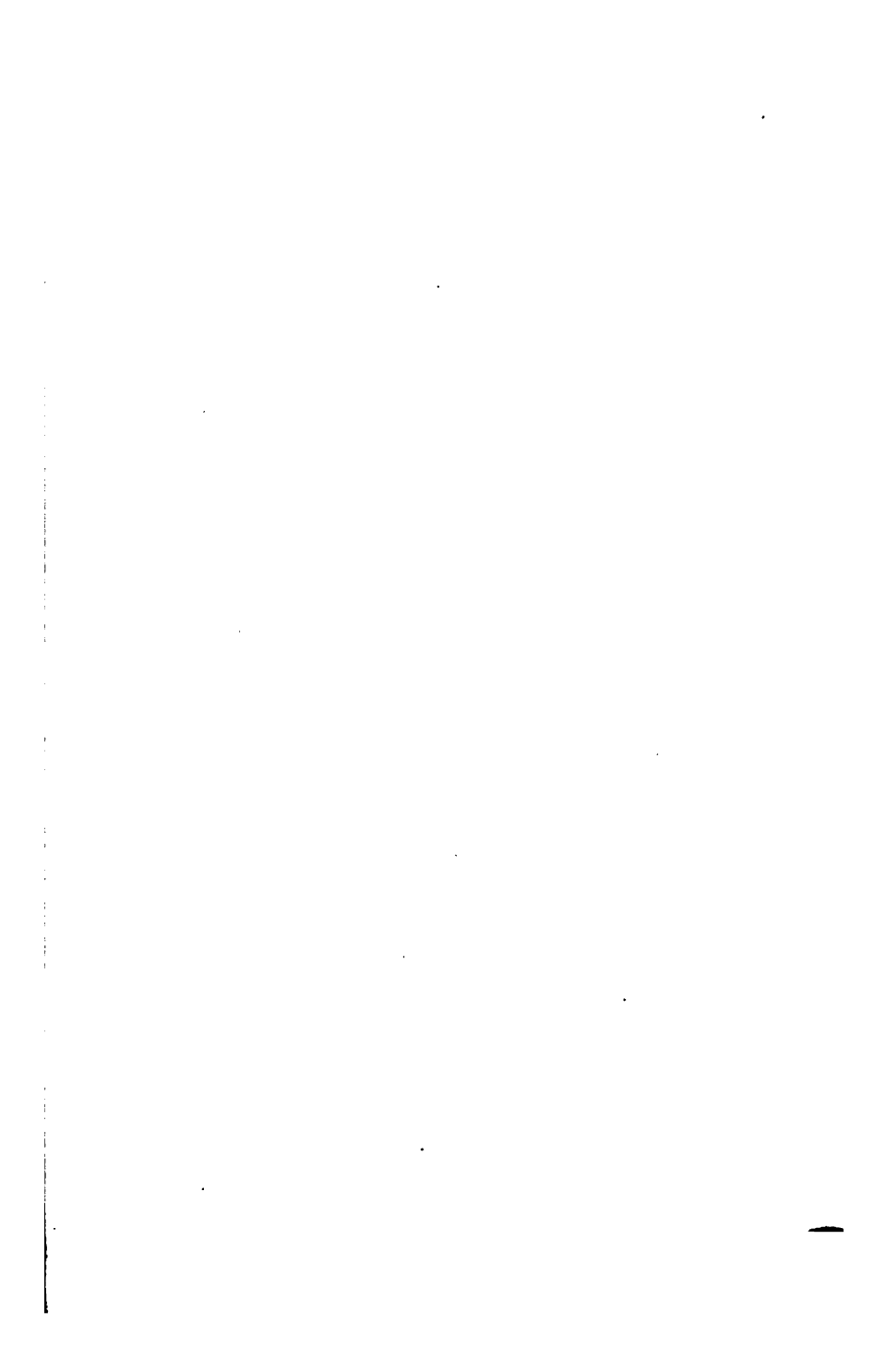
VIII. The *stained glass* windows in the nave are all modern, and are perhaps more satisfactory than usual, in spite of the evident want of some uniform design. The two west windows are by Wailes; the larger one a memorial for Dean Chandler from the parishioners of All Souls', St. Marylebone, London, of which parish he was for many years rector. In the north aisle the memorial window for Sir Thomas Reynell is by O'Connor. The window over the doorway into the cloisters, representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen, is by Wailes, and very good.

IX. In the bay of the north aisle (see Plate III.), called the Arundel Chantry, is the altar-tomb of RICHARD FITZ-ALAN, fourteenth Earl of Arundel (beheaded 1397), and his countess. This tomb was restored in 1843 by Richardson, the 'repairer' of the effigies in the Temple Church. The Arundel figures had been sadly mutilated, and were lying in different parts of the aisle. The tomb does not seem to have been originally placed in the cathedral, and it has been suggested that the effigies were removed from the church of the Grey Friars, now the Guildhall of Chichester, to which the Earls of Arundel were great benefactors. Earl Richard was one of the most powerful adherents of the Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II., and his fall took place at the same time with that of the Duke. It was the tomb of this Earl that Richard II. caused to be opened after his interment, it being "bruited abroad for a



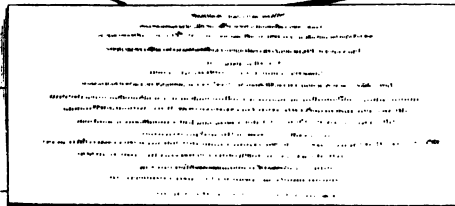
SARAH

MONUMENT BY FLAXMAN





F.B.



MONUMENT BY FLAXMAN.

miracle that his head should be growne to his body again^d."

At the end of this aisle, in the chapel of the Baptist, is the tomb of an *unknown lady*, happily unrestored, and of extreme beauty. It is of the best Decorated period. A plaster 'restoration' may be seen at the Sydenham Palace.

The statue of Huskisson, in the same aisle, is by CAREW. A memorial window to the same statesman (who purchased Eartham from the poet Hayley, and for some time resided there) has been placed above it.

X. The nave is rich in monuments by FLAXMAN, none of which are obtrusive, and one or two of much beauty. [Plates IV., V.] The best are in the *north aisle*. Remark especially that of WILLIAM COLLINS the poet, who was born in Chichester on Christmas-day, 1719, and who died in a house adjoining the cloisters in 1759. He was buried in St. Andrew's Church, and the present monument was placed in the cathedral by subscription. The poet is bending over the New Testament. "I have but one book," he said to Dr. Johnson, who visited Collins at Islington in the last year of his life, at which time the attacks of frenzy had all but destroyed him, "but that is the best." "The Passions" lie at his feet. The inscription,—

"where Collins' hapless name
Solicits kindness with a double claim,"—

is the joint production of Hayley and Sargent.

^d Holinshed.

In the *south aisle* remark the monument of AEGNES CROMWELL, a graceful figure borne upwards by floating angels; and that of JANE SMITH. Mr. Ruskin's judgment on the artist need not, perhaps, be considered as final: "There was Flaxman, another naturally great man, with as true an eye for nature as Raphael; he stumbles over the blocks of the antique statues, wanders in the dark valley of their ruins to the end of his days. He has left you a few outlines of muscular men straddling and frowning behind round shields. Much good may they do you! Another lost mind^c."

XI. From the nave we pass into the *south transept*, [Frontispiece], of the same architectural character, with the exception of the very beautiful *south window*, which is the work of Bishop LANGTON (1305—1338), and one of the finest examples of early Decorated in England. It was no doubt inserted by Bishop Langton as a mark of reverence for the shrine of St. Richard, which stood opposite the window, and to which pilgrims, at the time of its erection, were finding their way from all parts of England. The stained glass was destroyed by Waller's pikemen. Beneath it is Bishop Langton's tomb, much mutilated, but still shewing traces of colour. The modern tomb beside it, that of JOHN SMITH, Esq., of Dale Park, is at least an attempt in a good direction.

On the north side, adjoining the choir, is a very important tomb, which is in all probability that of RICHARD DE LA WYCH (1245—1253), the sainted Bishop of Chichester (see Part II.) The translation of St. Richard's

^c Lectures on Architecture and Painting.

relics took place in 1276, during the episcopate of Stephen de Berkstead, in the presence of Edward I., his Queen, and Court. From this time his shrine became one of the most honoured in the south of England, and numerous offerings at it are recorded. The tomb is one of Richardson's restorations, the small figures in the niches being entirely new. It seems later than the date of the Bishop's translation, and Professor Willis has questioned its right to figure as the shrine of St. Richard, although it is difficult to appropriate the tomb more satisfactorily. When it was opened for recent repairs, fragments of hazel wands and branches were found lying on the surface, such as pilgrims, having cut by the way, used to suspend round the shrine for which they were bound. These, together with pieces of glass and other vessels, were probably thrown back in disorder either after the destruction of the shrine by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, or after the Bishop's tomb had been violated by Waller's troops.

XII. The remarkable decorations of this transept are part of Bishop **SHERBORNE**'s (died 1536) "lace-work," and exhibit on the east wall portraits of the bishops of Selsey and Chichester from the commencement. A singular family likeness runs through the series, which is quite as edifying and authentic as that of the kings of Scotland in the Holyrood Gallery, on the uniform shape of whose noses Mr. Crystal Croftangry was wont to speculate. On the opposite wall are the monarchs of England from the Conqueror, and above them a picture in two compartments, representing Ceadwalla be-

stowing the monastery of Selsey on St. Wilfrid, and the confirmation of this grant to the cathedral made by Henry VIII. to Bishop Sherborne. In this the costume and accompaniments are all of the beginning of the sixteenth century, and Ceadwalla is represented by the figure of Henry VII., who, like his son and successor, was Bishop Sherborne's patron. The artist was Theodore Bernardi, a member of an Italian family long resident in the Low Countries, and which at this time was settled in Chichester under the Bishop's patronage^f.

XIII. The railed portion of this transept is used as an ecclesiastical court. The *sacristy*, of Early English date, is entered from the transept. In it is a very ancient oak chest, eight feet long. There is nothing about the wood-work to contradict the tradition that it is of Saxon workmanship, and we might fairly believe that it was brought from Selsey at the removal of the see, were it not that some portions of the iron-work display thirteenth-century forms. This, however,

^f The history of this family in connection with certain remains of painting and sculpture in Chichester and its neighbourhood, deserves examination. Besides the paintings on the vaulting of the cathedral (noticed in § XVIII.), there are others of similar character in Boxgrove Church. The Delawarr tomb in the same church offers some unusual peculiarities, such as perhaps indicate a foreign artist: and in the churches of West Hampnett, Selsey, and West Wittering, are monuments the design of which is remarkable and very un-English. All these belong to the early part of the sixteenth century, and may not impossibly have been the work of one or other of the Bernardis, who seem to have been skilled in more than one branch of art, as was then usual.

may be later addition. The ancient *Consistory Court*, over the south porch, is entered by a spiral staircase in the nave, close without the transept. It is late Perpendicular, and contains the original president's chair, which deserves attention. A sliding panel opens from this room into another, called the "Lollards' Prison," but which served in reality as the treasury and evidence-chamber.

XIV. Crossing the church we enter the *north transept*, which was long used as the parish church of St. Peter. It has been suggested that the plain western arch between this transept and its aisle may be of Saxon date, and have formed part of the monastic church of St. Peter, which served as the cathedral before Bishop Ralph built his. The fact, however, that the site for the new cathedral was granted by Hugh de Montmorency, proves that it could not have been built on that of the monastery. The arch may be a relic of Bishop Ralph's first church, completed in 1108. A chapel opening eastward from this transept has sometimes been called the chapter-house, but without any evidence that it really was so. It is transitional, with a central pillar. The zigzag ornament occurs in the groining ribs.

XV. The *choir* was formerly separated from the nave by a stone screen of Perpendicular work, known as Bishop ARUNDEL's (1458—1478) "Oratory." It had been much mutilated, and was in a bad state of repair; and in order to adapt the nave as well as the choir for divine service, this screen was removed in 1859. It will,

however, be replaced in some other part of the cathedral, as soon as the alterations now (1860) in progress are completed. The choir itself [Plate VI.], long and narrow (105 feet long, 59 feet broad), and extending westward under the central tower, is the original Norman work, and was perhaps the last portion of the Norman church completed. At the time of its erection the elongated form afterwards generally adopted had already come into use, and it was not necessary to rebuild it, as was the case with the shorter Norman choirs of Canterbury and Rochester. The restoration of the choir, commenced in 1859, is still in progress. Galleries which filled up the side arches, a range of high pews, the unsightly modern wood-work of the stalls and bishop's throne, together with a high wooden reredos, of Perpendicular date, but much mutilated, have been entirely removed. The side arches will be filled with screens of iron-work, corresponding in design with some fragments of ancient screens found on removing the galleries. The ancient portion of the stalls, consisting of the canopies and back seats, will be replaced; the fronts of the stalls and the choristers' seats will be new, and carved with a great variety of plants mentioned in Scripture. The bishop's throne will be new; and a new stone reredos will take the place of that removed. The floor will be laid with marble, the space before the altar being in mosaic. The organ will be placed behind the stalls, under the north arch of the central tower.

On commencing these restorations, it was found that



THE CHOIR.
(AS RESTORED.)

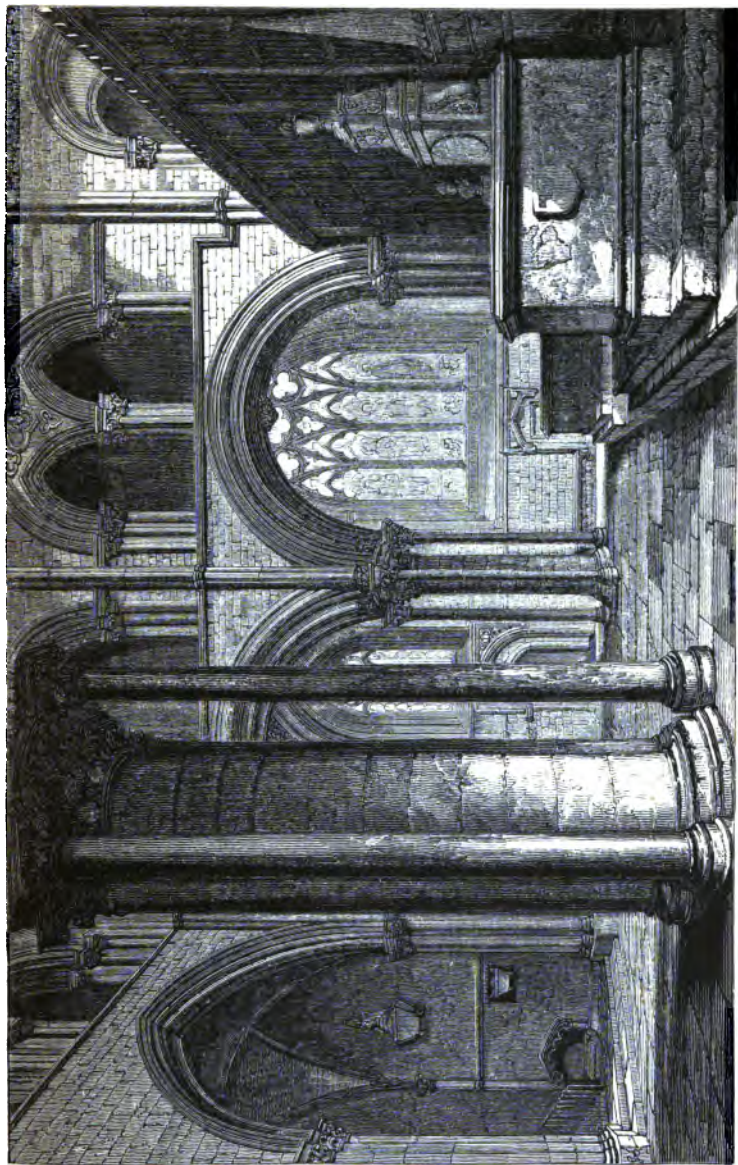
the piers of the central tower were very insecure,—owing apparently, in the first place, to the imperfect manner in which Bishop Seffrid's casing of stone was bonded into the Norman rubble-work which forms the body of the piers. The erection of the spire was of course a farther source of danger; and on the construction of the western stalls by Bishop Sherborne, the lower portions of the south-west and north-west piers were cut away; so that the superincumbent mass of masonry remained propped up only by some pieces of timber. The result has been that the whole mass of the tower, with the parts adjacent, has gradually sunk; fractures have taken place in the arch and east end of the south nave-aisle; there are others of greater magnitude in the piers themselves; and the arches of the triforium in the eastern bay of the nave are much crippled. All this mischief will now be remedied as far as possible. Portions of the piers will be rebuilt; and, throughout the choir, carved capitals will be re-inserted where the old ones have been destroyed. The whole work is under the superintendence of Mr. Slater.

XVI. Returning into the north transept, we pass up the *north choir-aisle*, in which are three memorial windows, the best being WILLEMET's, for F. E. Freeland, Esq. The large tomb under its canopy is said to be that of Bishop DE MOLEYNS (1445—1449), counsellor of Henry VI., who was murdered at Portsmouth. (See Part II.)

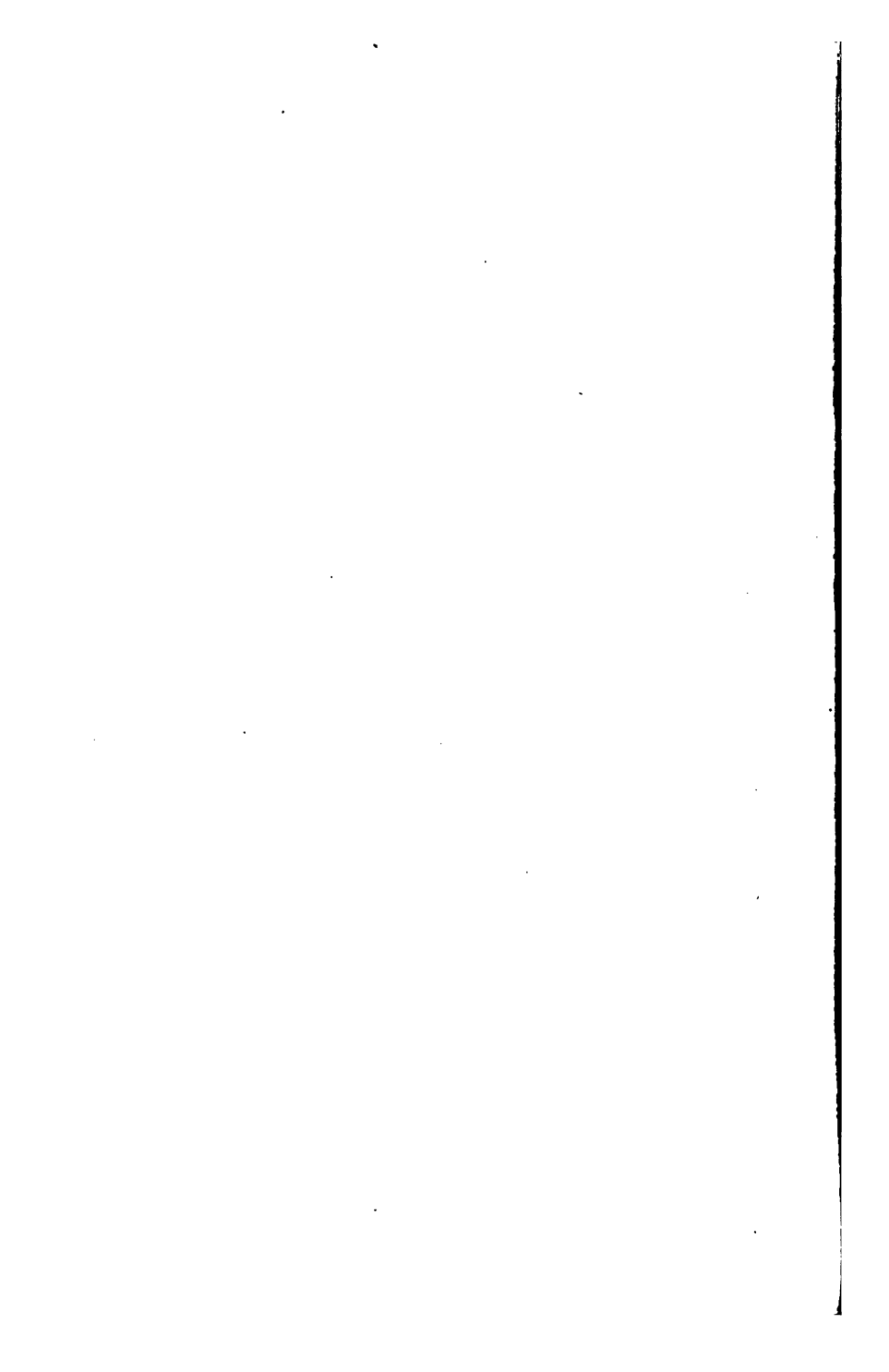
Bishop Seffrid's adaptation of the Norman church terminates at the end of the choir. The *retro-choir* [Plate

VII.], which we now enter, is an excellent specimen of the completed Transition. It dates early in the 13th century, but is certainly later than the episcopate of SEFFRED II. (died 1204), to whom it is usually assigned. "The pier-arches are still circular, not because the use of the pointed arch was not understood, for the eastern arch, though of the same age, is completely pointed. If the space to be enclosed had been a little longer, and had therefore required three bays, or a little shorter, so as to have been divided into narrower spaces, pointed arches would have been employed. The architects adopted, in fact, whichever of the two forms best suited their immediate purpose. It had not in those days become a dogma that architectural beauty could only be produced by the use of the pointed arch⁶." The use, or what may almost be called the abuse, of Purbeck marble, which English architects indulged in at this period, is also well shewn in this part of the cathedral. "From about the year 1175 till past the middle of the thirteenth century, no mode of decoration was in such favour in England as the employment of small detached shafts of this material applied to the sides of the stone constructive piers of the building. When the whole of the architecture was painted in rich but opaque colours, the polished shafts of dark marble must have afforded a beautiful contrast. Subsequently the more brilliant colours of the painted glass eclipsed the effect of marble shafts, on which the unconstructiveness of this mode led to its abandonment. In Chichester

⁶ Fergusson's *Hist. of Architecture*, p. 854.



THE RETRO-CHOIR.



Cathedral the shafts are farther detached than in any other known example, from the piers, which are of the same costly material^b." How far the result is pleasing the visitor may determine for himself. The experiment, at all events, was never repeated. Remark the rich Corinthian foliage on the capitals both of the shafts and piers. The union of the circular and pointed styles is well seen in the triforium, which illustrates the remarks of Mr. Fergusson, already quoted. The bosses of the vaulting-ribs deserve notice, especially an extraordinary composition of six human faces in the south aisle.

XVII. The *monuments* at the back of the altar-screen are those of Bishop HENRY KING, the poet—(1642—1669), whose father, John King, Bishop of London, was James the First's "King of preachers:" it was during this Bishop's lifetime that the cathedral was "set to rights" by the Puritans (see Part II.),—Bishop GROVE (1696), and Bishop CARLTON (1705). The plain tomb on the north side is that of Bishop STORY (1478—1503), the builder of the market-cross in the city. The trefoil on the pavement adjoining, within which two hands support a heart, is inscribed "Ici gist le cœur Maud de" the lady's name being undecipherable. On the south side is the tomb of Bishop DAY (died 1556).

XVIII. The eastern end of the retro-choir is terminated by three lancet windows, with a circular window in the gable above them. Externally it is flanked by

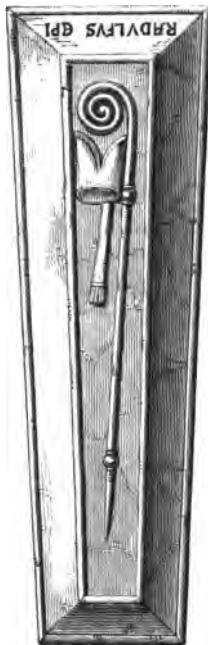
^b Fergusson, *ut sup.*

two octagonal turrets of good design, from which rise small spires.

Passing under the eastern arch, we enter the *Lady-chapel*, the work of Bishop GILBERT DE ST. LEONARD (1288—1305). In entering, remark a coped tomb, with the words "Radulphus Episcopus" at its west end. [Plate VIII.] This has been thought, and perhaps rightly, to belong to Bishop RALPH, the founder of the original Norman church. Opposite are two similar tombs, called those of Bishops SEFFRID and HILARY. Both are uncertain.

On the vaulting of the ante-room is a fragment of the painting with which the whole of the cathedral roofs were decorated by Bishop Sherborne. All the rest has been scraped off. Like the transept pictures, it is the work of Theodore Bernardi, and may be compared with the roof-paintings in the church of St. Jacques at Liège, which are of similar character.

The beautiful Lady-chapel has been spoilt as far as possible. The flooring has been raised in order to provide room for the Duke of Richmond's vault, which ranges beneath it. The east window has been closed up, and the others partly hidden. In the chapel is now arranged the *chapter library*, a good collection, among the treasures of which are Cranmer's copy of the Service-book of Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, with his autograph and numerous manuscript notes, and Eustathius on Homer, with the manuscript notes of Salmasius. There are no early manuscripts of importance. Some antiquities discovered during the recent



TOMB OF BISHOP RALPH.

restorations are preserved here. Among them are fragments of sculpture; two curious shoes; ancient combs; and a number of flooring tiles, shewing excellent patterns. Here are also a quantity of tiles, 16 inches long by 2 inches wide, found in repairing the soffits of the choir arcades. They were no doubt used in Bishop Ralph's Norman cathedral (1108—1123), and are curious examples of building tiles of that period. In a case against the wall are preserved some interesting relics, discovered in 1829 in the stone coffins of two early bishops, which then stood under the choir-arches. The most remarkable are a silver chalice and paten, with gold knobs and ornaments, of the twelfth century, and perhaps marking the tomb of Bishop SEFFRID II. (died 1204). In this coffin was found a talismanic thumb-ring—an agate set in gold, and engraved with gnostic devices. Similar talismans have been found in the tombs of early crusaders, both here and on the Continent. With this ring, three others of great beauty, set with emeralds and sapphires, and found at the same time, are also preserved in the Library. The other coffin was that of GOSFRID (1087—1088) second Bishop of Chichester. It contained the leaden cross exhibited in the library. This is inscribed with a papal absolution, from which it appears that some complaint against the Bishop had been carried to the court of Rome. Of this, however, nothing is known. Gosfrid was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc.

XIX. In the *chapel* (Early English), at the end of

the *south choir-aisle*, is a bust of Bishop OTTER, by TOWNE. The east window of this chapel claims to have been the first modern memorial window erected in England. It was placed here in 1842 by the late Dean Chandler, but a second window has since been substituted by Wailes for the first, with the design of which the artist became dissatisfied. To the example thus set by the Dean the cathedral is indebted for the riches of its stained glass, now of unusual quantity.

XX. In the wall of the south choir-aisle, east of the transept, are fixed *two sculptured slabs*, of very unusual character, said to have been removed from Selsey. Casts of them may be seen in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. The subjects are the raising of Lazarus and the meeting of the Saviour with Martha and Mary. [Plates IX., X.] These slabs were discovered in 1829 behind the stalls of the choir, where they had been long concealed. They are probably of early Norman date, though the costume and arrangement seem to indicate a foreign artist. A certain Byzantine character may be traced in the management of the hair and beards, in the narrow folds of the draperies, and perhaps in the tall slender figures. The hollows in the eyes may have been filled with crystals or enamel. Two remarkable fragments of sculpture in Sompting Church, near Chichester, representing the Saviour in judgment, and a kneeling bishop, may be compared with these in the cathedral.

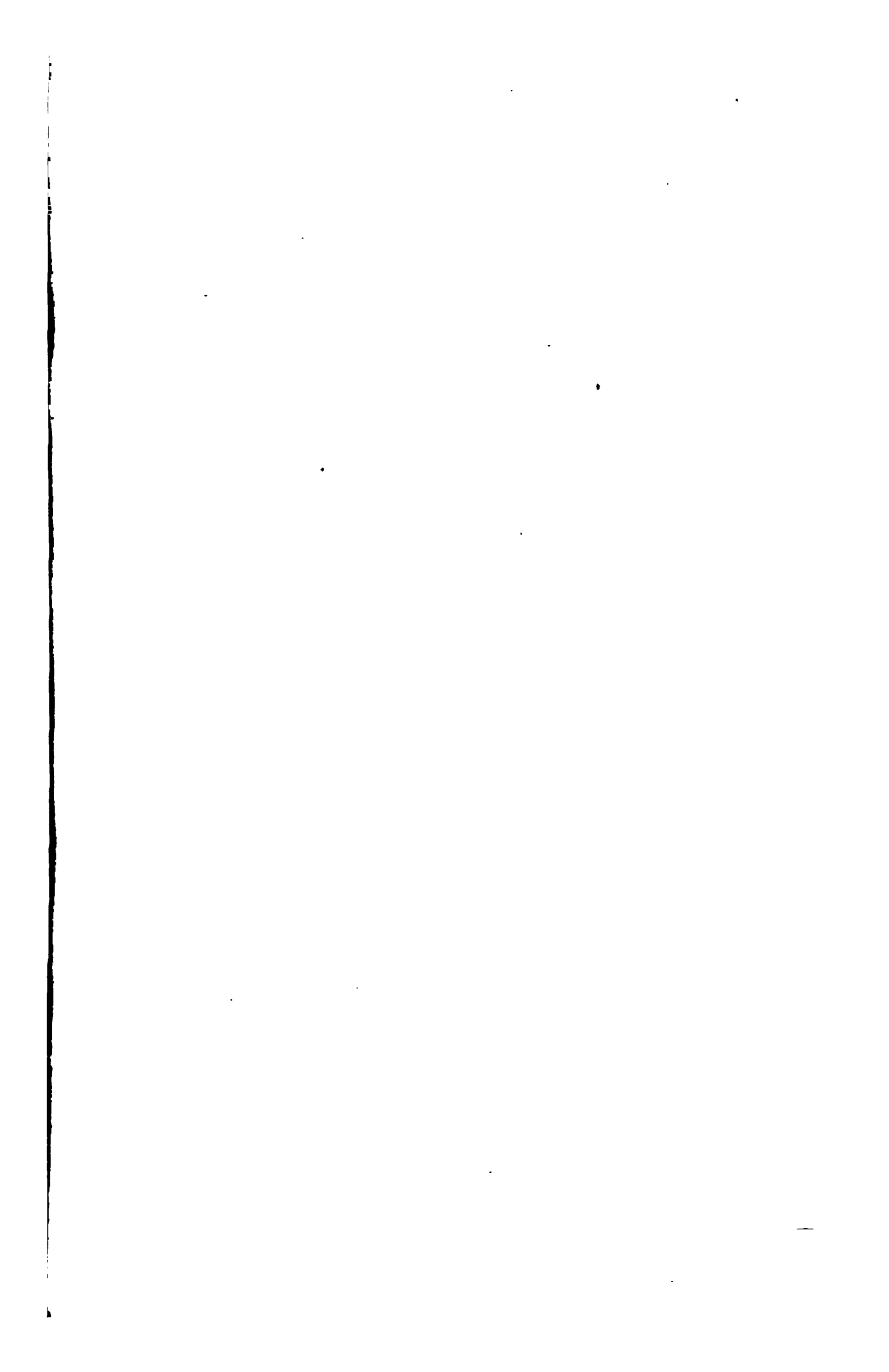
Between these slabs is the tomb of Bishop SHERBORNE (1507—1536), lately restored by the society

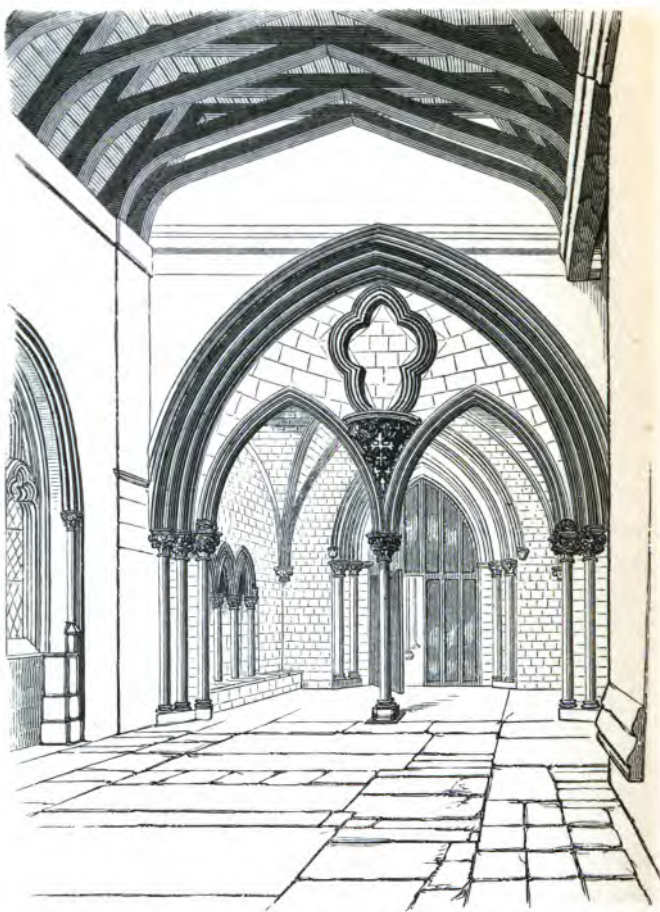


SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE—THE RAISING
OF LAZARUS.



SCULPTURE IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE.—THE MEETING OF
THE SAVIOUR WITH MARTHA AND MARY.





ENTRANCE FROM THE CLOISTERS.

of New College, Oxford, in whose charge it was left.

XXI. Returning to the nave, we pass into the cloisters through an Early English *porch* in the south aisle, of very similar character to that of the western front. [Plate XI.] A large Early English arch circumscribes two smaller ones, divided by a single shaft. In the space above is an elongated quatrefoil once containing a figure, the bracket for supporting which fills the opening between the two arches below. It is composed of Early English foliage, among which many small crosses are inserted;—possibly in allusion to the crusade. A graceful arcade lines the interior of the porch. The *cloisters* are Perpendicular, and their wooden roof deserves notice. The position of the cloisters, lying eastward under the transept and choir, instead of westward along the nave, is altogether unusual. Their form is very irregular. There is no north walk; and the three sides are of unequal length. The east walk opens into the retro-choir. The cloisters should be walked round for the sake of the exterior views of the cathedral to be obtained from them. The south transept window is best seen here. Above it is a circular window with very beautiful tracery, lighting the space between the roofs. The Norman windows of the aisles, now closed, may also be traced here: the walls themselves, according to Professor Willis, afford evidence that the east end of the chancel was originally circular, the ordinary Norman type.

Over a doorway in the *south cloister* is a shield with

the arms of Henry VII., together with two robed figures kneeling before the Virgin, who is supported by an angel holding a rose. This marks the house of the king's chaplains, who served a chantry founded by Henry V. for his own soul, for those of his father and mother, and for that of Nicholas Mortimer. It is now a private residence.

Beyond, but still in the south wall, is a tablet to the memory of WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, the champion of Protestantism, who died here (1643) after the capture of Arundel Castle, where he had suffered much during the siege. He was buried in this cloister, and Cheynell, a Puritan grand inquisitor, appeared at the grave with Chillingworth's "Religion of Protestants," which he flung into it "to rot with its author and see corruption," accompanying his proceeding with a speech that Torquemada might have envied. Like most impartial writers, Chillingworth shared the fate of the bat in the fable, and was cordially recognised by neither party. The last lines of the inscription on his monument—

"Sub hoc marmore conditur
Nec sentit damna sepulchri"—

are said to be a later addition. The original inscription, written by a friend of Chillingworth's soon after the Restoration, contained a special allusion to Cheynell, in which he was styled "Theologaster." His son got into the cloister at night, and defaced it with a pickaxe.

XXII. At the south-east angle of the cloisters is the

Chapel of St. Faith, founded early in the fourteenth century. It is now a dwelling-house, distinguished only by two heavy buttresses. Within, one or two deeply-splayed windows are traceable.

XXIII. The *episcopal palace* opens from the west end of the cloisters. The chapel is late Early English, with some additions. The ceiling of the dining-hall is painted with coats of arms and initials, attributed to Bernardi, the manufacturer of Bishop Sherborne's "lace" in the cathedral.

XXIV. The *bell-tower*, or *campanile*, on the north side of the cathedral, was built under Bishop Langeron (1305—1338). Its height is 120 feet; and it covers a square of 56 feet; the upper story being an octagon, supported by octagonal turrets. It is the only existing English example of a detached bell-tower adjoining a cathedral, though there are many instances of it in parish churches. One very similar to this, however, remained at Salisbury until the early part of the present century, when it was taken down by Wyatt the destructive. The stone of which the Chichester campanile is built is from the Isle of Wight quarries near Ventnor. The summit commands a good view of the town and cathedral, the light and graceful spire of which contrasts admirably with the square mass of the bell-tower.

CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Notices of the principal Bishops.

THE kingdom of the South Saxons, the second settlement effected by the Saxons in England, was the last to receive Christianity. In the year 477, twenty-seven years after the arrival of Hengist, Ælle and his three sons, according to the Saxon Chronicle, made good their landing at a place called Cymens-ore, probably Wittering, on the eastern side of Chichester harbour. In 490, Anderida, the Roman-British town and fortress which protected this part of the coast, the walls of which may still be seen at Pevensey, was taken by Ælle and his son Cissa; who, says the chronicler, "slew all that dwelt therein, nor was there thenceforth one Brit left." From this date the South Sexæ must have occupied the whole line of coast from Chichester eastward to the marshes of Kent.

Isolated by these marshes, and by the great primæval forest of Anderida (the name, according to Dr. Guest, signifies the "uninhabited district"), which covered the whole of Sussex north of the chalk downs, and extended into Kent on one side and into Hampshire on the other, the South Saxons remained pagans long after the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent in 597, and of St. Birinus in Wessex in 635. Little or nothing is recorded of them

• *A*, the Celtic negative particle, and *ted*, a dwelling.

or of their kingdom until, about the year 650, the famous Wilfrid of Northumbria, on his return from France, where he had gone to receive canonical consecration as archbishop of York^b, was driven by a storm upon their coast. "The Saxon pirates had become merciless wreckers; they thought everything cast by the winds and the sea on their coasts their undoubted property, the crew and passengers of vessels driven on shore their lawful slaves. They attacked the stranded bark with the utmost ferocity; the crew of Wilfrid made a gallant resistance. It was a strange scene. On one side the Christian prelate and his clergy were kneeling aloof in prayer; on the other, a pagan priest was encouraging the attack, by what both parties supposed powerful enchantments. A fortunate stone from a sling struck the priest on the forehead, and put an end to his life and his magic. But his fall only exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed the attack, and thrice were beaten off. The prayers of Wilfrid became more urgent, more needed, more successful. The tide came in, the wind shifted, the vessel got to sea, and reached Sandwich. At a later period of his life Wilfrid nobly revenged himself on this inhospitable people by labouring, and with success, in their conversion to Christianity^c."

Wilfrid's second appearance among the South Saxons occurred about the year 680, after his flight from Northumbria. The South Saxon king, *Ædilwalch*, was at this time, nominally at least, a Christian; having been baptized at the persuasion of *Wolphere* of Mercia, who had made him a grant of the entire Island of Wight. His Queen, *Eabba*, had also abjured paganism. The people, however, were still fierce worshippers of Thor and Odin; and

^b Except Wini, Bishop of Winchester, none of the English bishops were considered by Wilfrid as having been canonically consecrated; the rest were Scots, who rejected the Roman discipline concerning Easter and the tonsure.

^c Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 77.

although Wilfrid found at Bosham a small religious house encircled by woods and by the sea (*ylvis et mari circumdatum*), consisting of five or six brethren ruled by a Scot named Dicul, this little body of Christians had made no impression whatever on the surrounding heathens⁴. The condition of the entire district was fearful. No rains, according to Bede, had fallen for three years before Wilfrid's arrival. A great famine had been the result, and the South Saxons, linking themselves together in companies of forty or fifty, sought an end to their miseries by throwing themselves into the sea. Though a maritime people, on a long line of sea-coast, they were ignorant of the art of fishing, which Wilfrid accordingly began his labours by teaching them, thus enabling them to provide for themselves a constant supply of food⁵. The baptism of the chiefs and principal leaders speedily followed; on the first day of which, says Bede, rain fell in plenty, and the earth once more became fruitful. The people abjured their old religion in masses. The peninsula of Selsey—the "Seals' Island,"

⁴ Bede, H. E., lib. iv. c. 13. Traditions of the Brito-Roman Christianity which had been swept away by Ælle and his followers existed to a late period in Sussex. In the year 1058, a Flemish vessel, having on board a monk of Bergue St. Winoc, named Balger, was driven into the haven of Seaford. The monk found his way to a neighbouring monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, the site of which is unknown; and, *fidelis fur et latro bonus*, stole from it the relics of St. Lewinna, who is described as one of the early British converts in Sussex. The story has been told at length, from the *Acta Sanctorum*, by Mr. Blaauw, in the Sussex Archaeological Collections, i. p. 46.

⁵ "Nam et antistes, cum venisset in provinciam tantamque ibi famis penam videret, docuit eos piscando victum querere; namque mare et flumina eorum piscibus abundabant, sed piscandi peritia genti nulla, nisi ad anguillas tantum, inerat. Collectis ergo undecumque retibus anguillaribus, homines antistitis miserunt in mare, et divina se juvante gratia, mox cepere pisces diversi generis trecentos; quibus trifariam divisit, centum pauperibus dederunt, centum his a quibus retia acceperant, centum in suos usus habebant."—Bede, H. E., lib. iv. cap. 18.

a *terra* of eighty-seven families, among whom were 200 serfs, who were all made free men on their baptism—was granted to Wilfrid by King *Ædilwalch*, and a monastery was built on it, into which the exiled bishop collected such of his followers as, like himself, had been compelled to leave Northumbria. In this southern house Oswald, the sainted king of Northumbria, was especially revered.

Wilfrid thus became the first bishop of the South Saxons; and Selsey continued to be the chief place of the see, until the period of the Conquest. On the death of *Ecgfrid* of Northumbria, Wilfrid was reinstated in his northern bishopric. During his five years'^f labours in the south, his first patron, *Ædilwalch*, had fallen in battle with *Ceadwalla*, a youth of the royal house of Wessex, who had long lived as an outlaw in the great woods of Chiltern and Anderida, and who had been assisted by Wilfrid during the period of his obscurity. After *Ceadwalla's* accession to power, Wilfrid became his chief counsellor, and undertook, by his permission, the conversion of the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, which, as well as the district of the Meon-ware* on the main-land, had fallen into the hands of *Ceadwalla*. The foundation of some of the principal churches in this district—those of the two Meons among them—is still traditionally attributed to Wilfrid.

[A.D. 700—1070.] After Wilfrid's departure, the newly Christianized province of Sussex was for some years imperfectly watched over by the bishops of Winchester. In 709, *Eadbert*, abbot of the monastery at Selsey, was consecrated to the South Saxon bishopric by Archbishop *Nothelm*. *Eadbert* was succeeded by a series of twenty

^f So Bede. The dates, however, are very confused, and the number of years during which Wilfrid remained in Sussex is not quite certain.

* This is the strip of land within the Hampshire border through which the Hamble river runs, and in which are the parishes of East and West Meon, retaining the ancient name.

bishops, of whom little more than the names is recorded. The last Bishop of Selsey was **ETHELRIC**, a Benedictine of Christ Church, Canterbury; whose knowledge of the ancient law and customs of his country was so great that, together with Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, he was appointed to arbitrate between Odo, Earl of Kent, and Archbishop Lanfranc, who had claimed certain manors from the Earl as belonging to his see. The question was decided in a great meeting on Pinenden Heath, near Maidstone, to which place the Bishop of Selsey, infirm and of great age, was conveyed in a waggon drawn by oxen. The Archbishop recovered his manors. Bishop Ethelric shared the fate of other Saxon prelates. He was deprived of his see in a synod held at Windsor in 1070, and imprisoned (on what pretext is unknown) at Marlborough.

[A.D. 1070—1087.] **STIGAND**, Chaplain of the Conqueror, was appointed in the room of Ethelric. In accordance with a decree of the Council of London (1075), which directed that bishops' sees should no longer remain in villages and small towns, Stigand removed the chief place of the Saxon bishopric from Selsey to Chichester, where it has ever since remained¹. The south-west quarter of the city, in which stood the monastery of St. Peter, was assigned to the Churchmen; the castle, with its enclosures, occupied the north-east quarter. The church of St. Peter's monastery became the new cathedral. The decree of the Council of London refers to the Councils of Sardica and Laodicea, which "prohibited the having bishops' sees in villages;" but there can be little doubt that the change was greatly

¹ For the site of the Saxon cathedral and monastery at Selsey all search will now be in vain. The village of Selsey, now about half a mile from the sea, is traditionally said to have been once in the centre of the peninsula. The old cathedral, the site of which is now covered with water, is said to have lain about a mile east of the present church; and so rapidly has the sea encroached within the last three centuries, that even in Camden's time the foundations were uncovered at low water.

owing to the insecure condition of the open country after the Conquest, which rendered the protection of strong walls essential.

[A.D. 1087—1088.] GOSFRID, Stigand's successor, was consecrated by Lanfranc. Of his life nothing is known. The leaden cross found in his coffin, and now preserved in the Library, has been noticed in Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1091—1123.] RALPH LUFFA was the founder of the existing cathedral. (See Pt. I. §§ I., II., VII.) The birth and origin of Bishop Ralph are unknown. According to Malmesbury, his strength and tall stature (*proceritas corporis*) were equalled by the firm resolution of his mind, which enabled him to withstand William Rufus in the interest of Archbishop Anselm; whose struggle on the question of investitures was zealously supported by Bishop Ralph. The decree of Henry I., by which married priests were permitted to retain their wives on payment of a fine, was resisted by this bishop; who laid his diocese under an interdict until the king withdrew all pretension to collect any tax from the married clergy within its limits. Three times in the year he preached throughout his diocese¹; and raised his see from a state of great poverty to one of order and importance. He left all his goods to the poor, directing their distribution in his own sight as he lay on his death-bed. His tomb, at the entrance of the Lady-chapel, is noticed Pt. I. § XVIII.

[A.D. 1125—1145.] SEFFRID PELOCHIN, or SEFFRID I. (the name is identical with the more usual form Sigefrid), Abbot of Glastonbury, and brother of Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed in 1145 (why is unknown), and died in 1151.

[A.D. 1148—1169.] HILARY was originally attached to the household of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, to

¹ "Ter omni anno diocēsin suam causā prædicandi circuibat; nihil episcopali potestate a provincialibus suis exigens, sed quæ offerabantur gratabundus accipiens."—*Malmesbury*.

whom he owed his advancement. It was this bishop who, when Archbishop Becket and the other prelates, at a council held at Westminster, agreed to observe the customs of the realm in all things "saving their order," promised to observe them "in good faith;" a change of words for which Hilary was severely rebuked by Becket.

[A.D. 1174—1180.] JOHN DE GREENFORD had been Dean of Chichester before his election.

[A.D. 1180—1204.] SEFFRID II., like his predecessor, had been Dean of Chichester. The Norman church of Bishop Ralph, which in 1187 had been greatly injured by fire, together with the greater part of the city of Chichester, was restored and altered by this bishop. (See Pt. I. §§ II., VII.) Bishop Seffrid assisted at the coronation of King John in 1199.

[A.D. 1204—1207.] SIMON DE WELLES.

[A.D. 1209—1214.] NICHOLAS DE AQUILA.

[A.D. 1215—1217.] RICHARD POORE, Dean of Salisbury, was translated to Salisbury in 1217. He was the builder of the cathedral there. (See SALISBURY.)

[A.D. 1217—1222.] RALPH DE WARHAM.

[A.D. 1223—1244.] RALPH NEVILLE, Chancellor of England from the year of his election to 1238, was chosen successively Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, but was never confirmed in the possession of either dignity. He died Bishop of Chichester in 1244. As Chancellor his reputation for justice and integrity stood unusually high. "Erat regis fidelissimus Cancellarius," says Matthew Paris, "et inconcussa columna veritatis; singulis sua jura, præcipue pauperibus, juste reddens et indilate." He did much for his cathedral; the Early English portions of which are probably to be assigned to him.

[A.D. 1245—1253.] RICHARD DE LA WYCH, the sainted Bishop of Chichester, and the great patron of the city, succeeded. The canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew, a favourite of the King (Henry III.) But his

election was annulled by the pope (the bull asserts on account of his want of learning), and Richard de la Wych was consecrated. He is said to have been born at Droitwich in Worcestershire, from the salt-springs (locally called *wyches*) of which place he derived his surname^k. De la Wych, who had early assumed the black robe and white scapular of the Dominicans,—the new Order which was gathering to itself the most ardent and energetic minds of Western Europe,—was educated at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna; and on his return to England became Chancellor, first of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards of the University of Oxford. He was consecrated to the see of Chichester at Lyons, during the sitting of the Council there, in the year 1245, by Pope Innocent IV. himself, who at the same time consecrated Boniface of Savoy to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and Roger of Weseham to the see of Lichfield. Henry III., incensed at the rejection of his favourite, seized the revenues of the see, and for two years Bishop De la Wych was obliged to depend on the benevolence of others for the means of subsistence. The revenues were restored after the King had been threatened with excommunication by Pope Innocent. In the work of his diocese, in preaching (the especial duty of his Order), and in visiting, Bishop De la Wych was indefatigable. He died (April 3, 1253) in the Maison Dieu, at Dover, where he had rested while preaching the Crusade along the coast. His canonization (partly the result of the great influence and activity of the Order to which the Bishop belonged, and partly due, no doubt, to the principles he maintained during his lifetime^l) was de-

^k A later tradition asserted that these *wyches* had been miraculously procured by the prayers of St. Richard.

^l De la Wych, says Fuller, was a 'stout Becketist,' and dedicated to Innocent IV. a defence of the spiritual power against the regal, having especial reference to Henry III. His name has been connected with that of Becket in more than one part of his diocese. A fig-orchard at West Tarring, adjoining an ancient palace of the

creed by Pope Urban IV., in 1261; and in the year 1276 his relics were removed from their first resting-place in Chichester Cathedral to the shrine in which they remained until the Reformation. (Pt. I. § XI.) The life of St. Richard of Chichester was written by Ralph Bocking, a Dominican like the Bishop himself, and his constant attendant^m. The miracles recorded, such as the feeding, during a great dearth, at Cakeham, in the parish of West Wittering, of 3,000 persons with beans only sufficient for one third the number, are of the usual character; but enough remains to prove that the life and labours of Bishop de la Wych were of no ordinary excellence.

[A.D. 1253—1262.] JOHN CLIPPING.

[A.D. 1262—1287.] STEPHEN DE BERKSTEAD, a partisan of Simon de Montfort, was excommunicated with others on the side of the barons; and was compelled to undertake a laborious journey to Rome to procure absolution, which was granted him not without difficulty.

[A.D. 1288—1305.] GILBERT DE ST. LEOFARD, builder of the beautiful Lady-chapel in the cathedral (Pt. I. § XVIII.), narrowly escaped canonization; to which, according to Matthew of Westminster, he was nearly as much entitled as his predecessor St. Richard. "A father of orphans and consoler of widows, a pious and humble visitor at the beds and in the cottages of the poor, a friend of the needy far more than of the rich,"—such is the character of Bishop Gilbert, one that is not often recorded of a great mediæval prelate. He is said to have worked many miracles after death.

[A.D. 1305—1337.] JOHN DE LANGTON, Chancellor of Eng-

bishops of Chichester, is said to have been planted partly by Becket and partly by St. Richard. The two saints appear together in the curious paintings (of Perpendicular date) on the tomb of John Wootton, in Maidstone Church, Kent.

^m See it in the *Acta Sanctorum*, April 11.

land in 1308, was the donor of the great window in the south transept. (Pt. I. § xi.) The Earl of Warrene, whose strong castle dominated over the town of Lewes, was excommunicated by this bishop on the score of evil life; and afterwards made a sudden appearance before him, surrounded by armed retainers, with the evident intention of taking vengeance for the insult. The tables were turned, however, and the Earl of Warrene and his men were at once laid up safely in the Bishop's dungeons.

[A.D. 1337—1362.] ROBERT STRATFORD, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, was also Chancellor of Oxford, where he succeeded in appeasing the great strife which had arisen between the Southern and Northern students, the latter of whom had withdrawn for some time to the town of Stamford in Lincolnshire.

[A.D. 1362, translated to Worcester in 1368.] WILLIAM DE LENNE, or LULIMERE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1369—1385.] WILLIAM READE was founder of the library at Merton College, Oxford, of which he had been a fellow. After his elevation to the see of Chichester, he built the castle of Amberley, whose picturesque ruins still remain on the banks of the river Arun.

[A.D. 1385—1388.] THOMAS RUSHOOK, a Dominican, the confessor of Richard II., was translated from Llandaff to Chichester on the nomination of the Pope. He was driven from court, however, by the Parliament called the "wonderful," in 1388, and his goods confiscated. The ex-bishop of Chichester was subsequently provided for by a small bishopric in Ireland; that of 'Triburn,' now Kilmore.

[A.D. 1389—1395.] RICHARD MITFORD was translated in the latter year to Salisbury, where his fine tomb remains; (see that Cathedral).

[A.D. 1395—1396.] ROBERT WALDBY, Archbishop of Dublin, was translated to Chichester and thence to York.

[A.D. 1396—1415.] ROBERT READE, a Dominican, and possibly a relative of his predecessor of the same name, nomi-

nated Bishop of Carlisle in 1396, was in the same year translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1415—1417.] STEPHEN PATRINGTON, translated from St. David's.

[A.D. 1418—1420.] HENRY WARE, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1420—1422.] JOHN KEMP, translated from Rochester; and from Chichester successively to London, York, and Canterbury. (See the last Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1426.] THOMAS POLTON, translated from Hereford; and from Chichester to Worcester.

[A.D. 1426—1429.] JOHN RICKINGALE.

[A.D. 1429—1437.] SIMON SYDENHAM, 'legum doctor.'

[A.D. 1438—1445.] RICHARD PRATT, Chancellor of Oxford.

[A.D. 1445—1449.] ADAM DE MOLEYNS, 'legum doctor,' had been the commissioner chosen to deliver over Maine and Anjou to René, titular King of Sicily (in effect to the crown of France), in accordance with the agreement made by the Duke of Suffolk on the marriage of Henry VI. with the daughter of René, the Princess Margaret of Anjou. The cession of these provinces led at once to the loss of Normandy, and eventually of all the English conquests and possessions in France, with the exception of Calais. Great popular indignation was the result; and in 1449 the Bishop of Chichester, whilst superintending the payment of sailors in the 'Domus Dei,' or hospital at Portsmouth, was attacked and killed by them, it is said at the instigation of the Duke of York, the opponent of Suffolk. A tomb assigned to Bishop De Moleyns remains in the north choir-aisle. (Pt. I. § XVI.)

[A.D. 1450—1457.] REGINALD PRECOCK succeeded. The character of this bishop—the most remarkable Churchman of his time in England—has been variously estimated by writers of different schools; but the recent publication of his most important work, the "Repressor of over-much blaming of the Clergy," enables us to follow his opinions with much greater certainty than has hitherto been possible.

His parentage is unknown, as well as the exact place of his birth, which occurred toward the end of the fourteenth century, and most probably within the Welch diocese of St. David's. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship in 1417; was afterwards ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln; and became conspicuous in the University for his knowledge of both sacred and profane literature. He was then summoned to court, and in 1431 obtained from Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, Protector of the kingdom, the Mastership of Whittington College, in London, to which the rectory of St. Michael in Riola was attached. "It was here that Pecock applied himself to study the controversy between the Lollards and their opponents, which must have been prominently brought before his eyes both in his experience of London life and by the Smithfield bonfires." In 1444, through the Protector's influence, but by papal provision, he was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, and in 1447 defended "Unpreaching and Non-resident Prelates," in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross. "The episcopal order had been in little favour in England generally for some time. Many of the most rigid Anglicans, and the whole body of the Lollards, with all its parties and subdivisions, were vehement in their denunciations." Pecock defended them vigorously; but "men exclaimed against them more than ever, and against Pecock in particular." The friars of the mendicant orders were especially active, and Pecock was obliged to transmit a defence of his sermon to Archbishop Stafford, by whom, and by the rest of the bishops, he was of course not unfavourably judged. He had already (c. 1440) written his *Donet* (*Donatus*), or "Introduction to the Chief Truths of the Christian Religion," and in 1454 published his "Follower to the *Donet*." Both works were written against the so-called errors of the Lollards. In 1449 appeared his most important book, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," the design of which was "to defend the

clergy from what he conceived to be the unjust aspersions of many of the 'lay party,' or 'Bible men' (by which he means the Lollards), and to shew that the practices for which they were blamed admitted of a satisfactory vindication." Of these practices he vindicates six, "the use of images; the going on pilgrimage; the holding of landed possessions by the clergy; the retention of the various ranks of the hierarchy; the framing of ecclesiastical laws by papal and episcopal authority; and the institution of the religious orders." "The great historical value of Pecock's work consists in this, that it preserves to us the best arguments of the Lollards against existing practices which he was able to find, together with such answers as a very acute opponent was able to give." It should also be remarked that Pecock, no less than his opponents, "contributed very materially to the reformation which took place in the following century." The discontented portion of the Church of the fifteenth century in England embraced persons of very various views. "Pecock himself is a singular illustration of the eclecticism (so to say) which prevailed. He virtually admitted, on the one hand, the fallibility of general councils, and insisted strenuously on the necessity of proving doctrines by reason, and not simply by authority; while, on the other, he carried his notions on the papal supremacy almost as far as an Ultramontane could desire, and was blamed even by men like Gascoigne for giving more than its due to the Pope's temporal authority. In maintaining Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, and in rejecting the apocryphal books as uncanonical, he agrees with the reformers altogether; in his doctrine of the invocation of saints, and in various other particulars, he agrees altogether with their adversaries. If in his discourse of images he writes some things which few Anglicans would approve, so also he writes others, in the same discourse, which many Romanists would still less approve. Perhaps it would not be greatly wrong to assert that Pecock stands

half-way between the Church of Rome and the Church of England as they now exist, the type of his mind, however, being rather Anglican than Roman. Of Puritanism, in all its phases, he is the decided opponent."

In maintaining, as he does in the "Repressor," that the special office of Scripture is to make known those truths and articles of faith which human reason could not have discovered, Pecock may be considered as the forerunner of Hooker, who adopts the same line of argument. Indeed, this portion of his work, according to Hallam, "contains passages well worthy of Hooker, both for weight of matter and dignity of style." "Fulness of language," says the learned editor of the "Repressor," "pliancy of expression, argumentative sagacity, extensive learning, and critical skill, distinguish almost every chapter. . . . It is no exaggeration to affirm that Pecock's 'Repressor' is the earliest piece of good philosophical discussion of which our English prose literature can boast. As such it possesses no small interest for the philologist, and for the lover of letters generally."

In 1450, by the interest of the Queen's favourite, William Delapole, Duke of Suffolk, Pecock was raised to the see of Chichester. In 1456 he published his "Treatise on Faith," intended to reduce the Lollards to obedience; and in the following year, at a council held by Henry VI. at Westminster, "the hatred long entertained against his person and opinions burst forth with unrestrained fury." Pecock, who had lost his patron, the Duke of Suffolk, and who was personally out of favour with the King, was compelled to defend himself before Archbishop Bourchier, and, after repeated examinations, was condemned by him. He was offered his choice between a public abjuration of his assumed errors and death by fire. He chose to recant; "confuted," says Fuller, "with seven solid arguments thus reckoned up, *Authoritate, Vi, Arte, Fraude, Metu, Terrore, et Tyrannide.*" Before 20,000 persons assembled at St.

Paul's Cross he declared that he had held, and now abjured, the following errors and heresies :—

I. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in our Lord's descent into hell.

II. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Spirit.

III. and IV. That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the Holy Catholic Church, or in the Communion of Saints.

V. That the Universal Church may err in matters of faith.

VI. That it is not necessary to salvation to uphold, as universally binding, the decrees of a general council.

VII. That it is sufficient for every one to understand Holy Scripture in its literal sense.

His books were then publicly burnt. Many of the errors which he now retracted he had never uttered, and others he knew to be truths. "But, indeed, he seems to have been so confused and bewildered, as scarcely to know what he had said or what he had not said."

Pecock was at first sent by Archbishop Bouchier to Canterbury, and thence to Maidstone. In March, 1459, his bishopric was declared vacant, and his successor appointed. He was himself degraded, and sent, half-prisoner, half-guest, to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, where he was to have "a secret closed chamber," without books or paper, and to fare "as a brother of the abbey is served when he is excused from the *freytour* (i.e. from dining in hall), and somewhat better after the first quarter." At Thorney Pecock probably died, but in what year is uncertain. Henry Wharton, (editor of the *Anglia Sacra*,) who in 1688 published some extracts from Pecock's "Rule of Faith," refers to him, and with justice, as "by far the most eminent and learned bishop of the Church of England in his time."

Pecock's most valuable and important work, "The Repressor of overmuch blaming of the Clergy," has recently

(1860) been edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington, in the series of documents for the history of England published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. All that is known concerning Bishop Pecock will be found in the editor's excellent "Introduction," from which the passages within inverted commas in the present notice are extracts.

[A.D. 1459—1477.] JOHN ARUNDELL, chaplain and physician to Henry VI.

[A.D. 1478—1503.] EDWARD STORY, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was translated to Chichester from Carlisle. The market-cross, still remaining at Chichester, was built by him.

[A.D. 1503—1506.] RICHARD FITZ-JAMES, translated from Rochester to Chichester by the Pope, and thence to London.

[A.D. 1508—1536.] ROBERT SHERBORNE, educated in Wykeham's Colleges at Winchester and Oxford, was translated to Chichester from St. David's. He was, says Fuller, "a great scholar and a prudent man;" and was greatly patronized by Henry VII., who employed him on various embassies. The cathedral of Chichester he "decorated with many ornaments, . . . especially the south side thereof." (See Pt. I. § XII. for a notice of what Fuller elsewhere calls Bishop Sherborne's "lace and trimmings" in the south transept.) His favourite mottoes were "Dilexi decorem domus tuæ, Domine," and "Credite operibus;" referring to the latter of which, Fuller observes that "although some may like his alms better than his trumpet, charity will make the most favourable construction thereof." Bishop Sherborne affords one of the few early instances of the resignation of his see by a bishop on the score of old age and incapacity. He was aged ninety-six when he resigned the see of Chichester; and a bill securing his pension was passed through the House of Lords. He died in the same year (1536).

[A.D. 1536—1543.] RICHARD SAMPSON, 'legum doctor,' translated to Lichfield.

[A.D. 1543—1556.] GEORGE DAY, elder brother of William Day, Bishop of Winchester, Almoner of Anne of Cleves, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was a supporter of the "old profession;" a "most pertinacious Papist," says Fuller. In 1551, under Edward VI., he was deprived and imprisoned, but was restored to his see by Queen Mary. The two brothers, George and William, died, the first very young, the latter at a great age; "but," says Fuller, "not so great was the difference between their vivacity as distance betwixt their opinions: the former being a rigid Papist, the latter a zealous Protestant; who requesting of his brother some money to buy books therewith and other necessities, was returned with this denial: 'that he thought it not fit to spend the goods of the Church on him who was an enemy of the Church^a.'" JOHN SCORY, who had been appointed Bishop of Chichester by Edward VI., on Day's deprivation, was deprived in his turn on the accession of Mary. Elizabeth made him Bishop of Hereford.

[A.D. 1557—Jan. 1558.] JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON was appointed by Queen Mary on the death of Bp. Day. "He had no sooner put on his episcopal ring," says Fuller, "but presently he washed his hands in the blood of poor martyrs," of whom many suffered in Sussex. He was one of the commissioners for visiting Cambridge, where he is said to have been active in burning the bones of Bucer. Bishop Christopherson had been Master of Trinity College in that University, and was an excellent scholar, according to Fuller, who adds, "I have seen a Greek tragedy, made and written by his own hand so curiously, that it seemed printed, and presented to King Henry VIII." He was deprived on the accession of Elizabeth, and kept under some restraint, dying in 1560.

^a Worthies—Shropshire.

[A.D. 1559—1569.] WILLIAM BARLOW, translated from Wells (see that Cathedral), was the first Protestant Bishop of Chester. His five daughters married five bishops, as appears from the inscription on his wife's tomb, which Fuller gives from a church in Hampshire:—

“ Prole beata fuit, plena annis, quinque suarum
Præsulibus vidit, Præsulis ipsa, data.”

[A.D. 1570—1582.] RICHARD CURTIS.

[A.D. 1584—1596.] THOMAS BICKLEY was consecrated bishop when in his eightieth year. In his youth he had been Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. “In the first of Edward VI.,” says Fuller, “his detestation of superstition may rather be commended than his discretion in expressing it, when (before the publique abolishing of popery) at evening prayer he brake the consecrated host with his hands, and stamped it under his feet in the college chapel.” He remained an exile in France throughout the reign of Mary, and afterwards became Warden of Merton College, Oxford, where he continued twenty years. At his death he left legacies to both his colleges at Oxford.

[A.D. 1596—1605.] ANTHONY WATSON.

[A.D. 1605—1609.] LANCELOT ANDREWES, translated first to Ely, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral for a full notice of him.)

[A.D. 1609—1619.] SAMUEL HARSNET.

[A.D. 1619—1628.] GEORGE CARLETON was one of the representatives of the English Church sent by James I. to attend the Synod of Dort.

[A.D. 1628—1638.] RICHARD MONTAGUE, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards a Canon of Windsor, was by far the most active and decided of that “Romanizing” party in the English Church which was so conspicuous in the early years of Charles the First's reign, and from which so much mischief subsequently arose. Montague's first appearance was in 1618, when he replied to Selden's “History of Tithes,” strongly asserting their divine origin. In 1624 he replied to a Romanist pamphlet which asserted

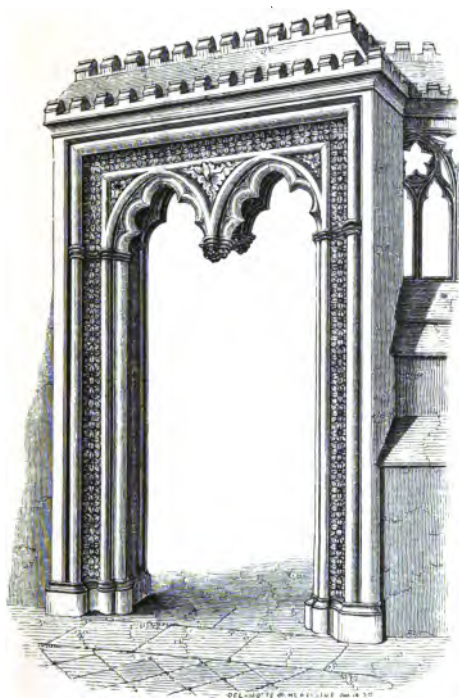
that certain Puritanical tenets were held of necessity by the Church of England. Montague denied this. He was attacked accordingly by the Calvinist or Puritanical party, and then wrote his tract entitled *Appello Cæsarem*, in which he defended his position, and attacked the Puritans "as a people desiring an anarchy." King James died in the interval. On the accession of Charles, and after his first Parliament had met, Montague was called to the bar, charged with injuries to religion. His books, however, were not then censured; and three bishops (Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's) wrote on his behalf to the Duke of Buckingham. In the second Parliament (1626), "a commission for religion was settled, and Montague's 'Appeal to Cæsar' was again debated. This book being referred by the Commons to the committee above-mentioned, Mr. Pym made his report of several erroneous opinions extracted from it, upon which the House made this resolve: 'That Mr. Montague endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome, and alienate the King's affection from his well-affected subjects.' By the way, this is the first time we hear of a Committee of Religion in the House of Commons." The process seems to have been dropped by the Commons, however, nor did the ensuing Convocation notice Montague's book. But pamphlets continued to be poured forth against him; and the King gave great offence when in 1628 he appointed him Bishop of Chichester. Of the lengths to which Montague was disposed to go in order to effect a reconciliation between the Churches of England and Rome there can be no doubt. A full notice of his intrigues with Panzani, the private but accredited minister of Rome at the court of Charles, has been given by Hallam^p. In 1638 Bishop Montague was translated to Norwich, where he died, 1641, and was buried in the cathedral.

[A.D. 1638—1641.] BRIAN DUPPA, translated to Salisbury, and thence to Winchester. (See the latter Cathedral.)

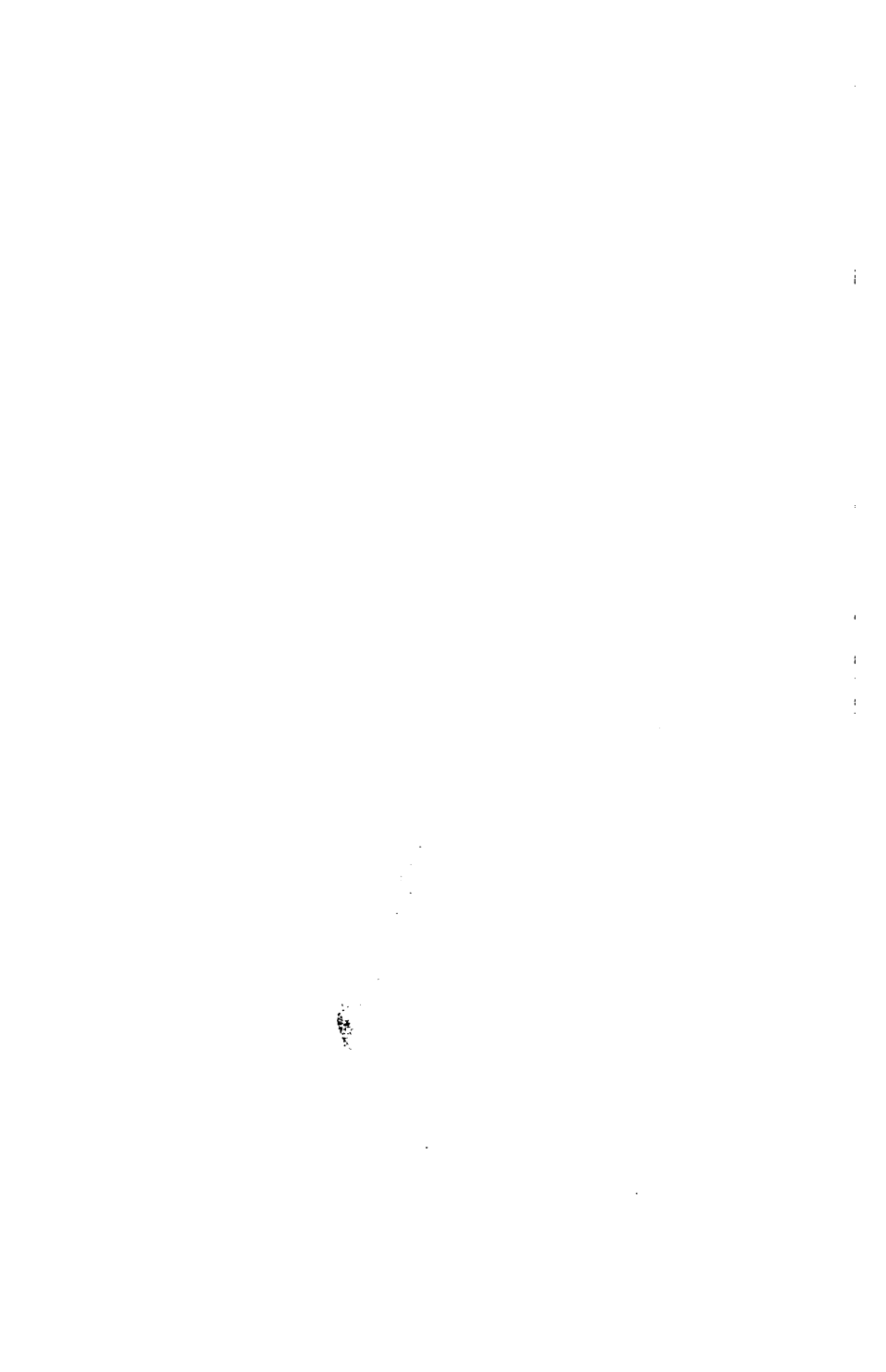
° Collier, Church Hist., bk. ix. p Const. Hist. of Eng., ch. viii.

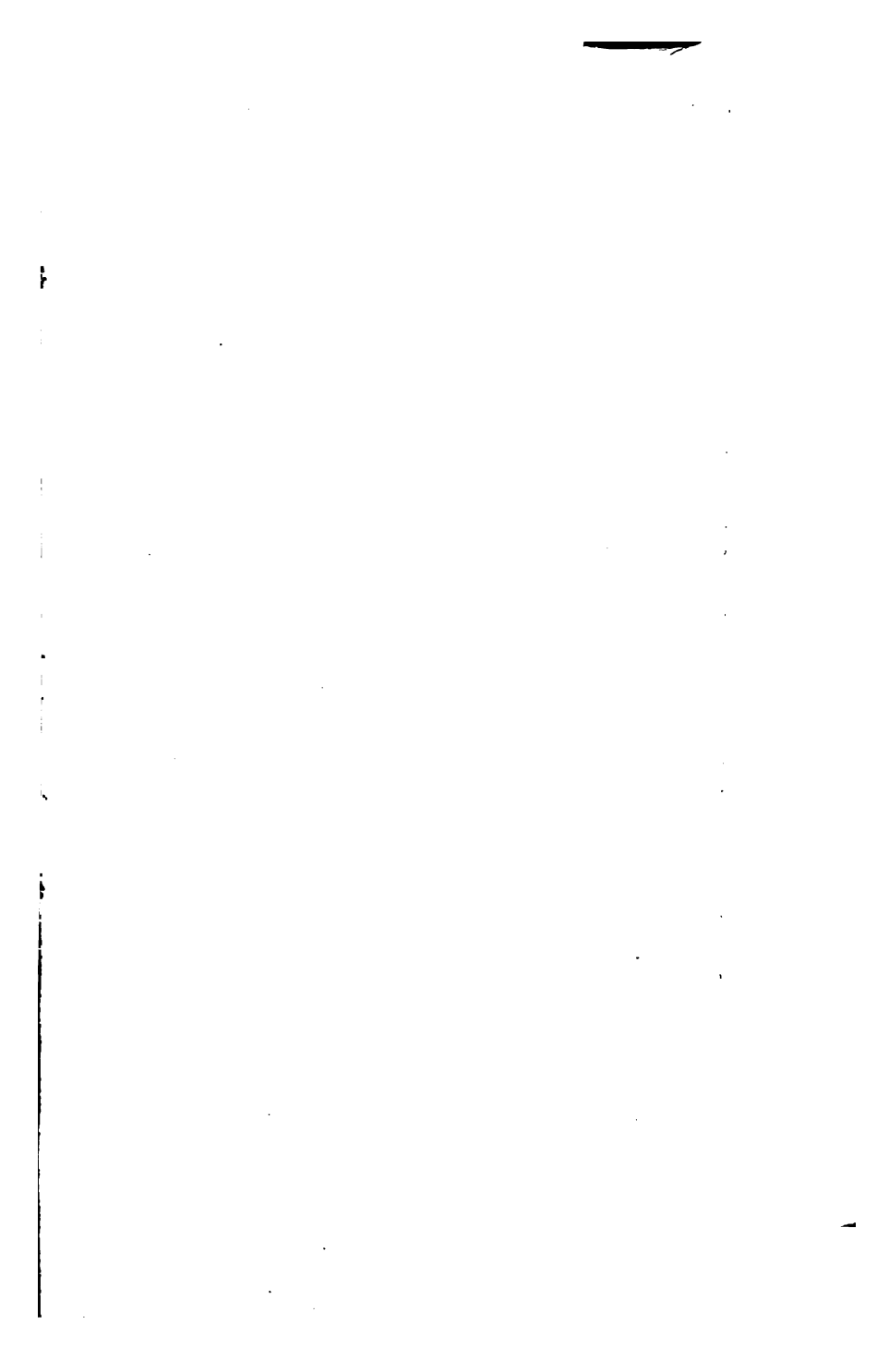
- [A.D. 1641—1669.] HENRY KING, son of John King, Bishop of London (James the First's 'King of preachers'), descended from an ancient Devonshire family, succeeded. He was driven from his see during the civil war, when Chichester Cathedral suffered considerably, but lived to be restored on the accession of Charles II. His tomb remains at the back of the choir-screen. Bishop King was a poet of some reputation in his time; and his works have been recently collected and carefully edited. (London, 1843.)
- [A.D. 1669—1675.] PETER GUNNING, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, translated to Ely.
- [A.D. 1675—1678.] RALPH BRIDEOAKE.
- [A.D. 1678—1685.] GUY CARLETON.
- [A.D. 1685—1689.] JOHN LAKE had borne arms as a soldier in the cause of Charles I., and was one of the seven bishops imprisoned by his son James II. He had been translated to Chichester from the sees of Sodor and Man and Bristol. Bishop Lake was one of the Nonjurors who were deprived of their sees after the Revolution of 1688.
- [A.D. 1689—1691.] SIMON PATRICK, Dean of Peterborough, translated to Ely. (See that Cathedral.)
- [A.D. 1691—1696.] ROBERT GROVE.
- [A.D. 1696—1709.] JOHN WILLIAMS.
- [A.D. 1709—1722.] THOMAS MANNINGHAM.
- [A.D. 1722—1724.] THOMAS BOWERS.
- [A.D. 1724—1731.] EDWARD WADDINGTON.
- [A.D. 1731—1740.] FRANCIS HARE.
- [A.D. 1740—1754.] MATTHIAS MAWSON.
- [A.D. 1754—1798.] WILLIAM ASHBURNHAM.
- [A.D. 1798—1824.] JOHN BUCKNER.
- [A.D. 1824—1831.] ROBERT JAMES CARR.
- [A.D. 1831—1836.] EDWARD MALTBY.
- [A.D. 1836—1840.] WILLIAM OTTER.
- [A.D. 1840—1842.] PHILIP SHUTTLEWORTH.
- [A.D. 1842.] ASHHURST T. GILBERT.

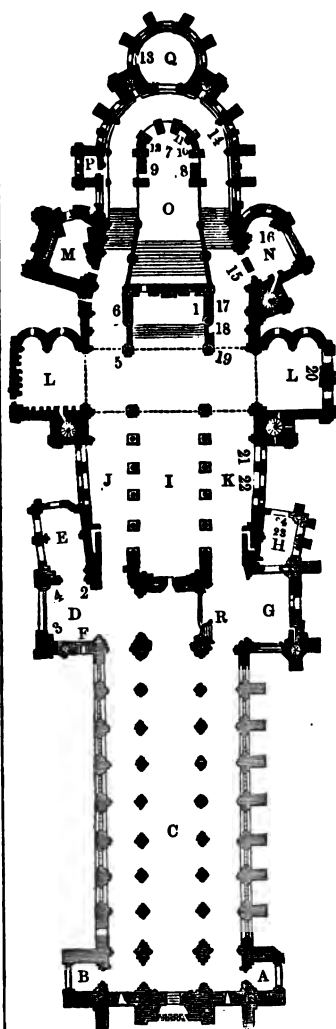
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.



NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN, OUTER FACE.







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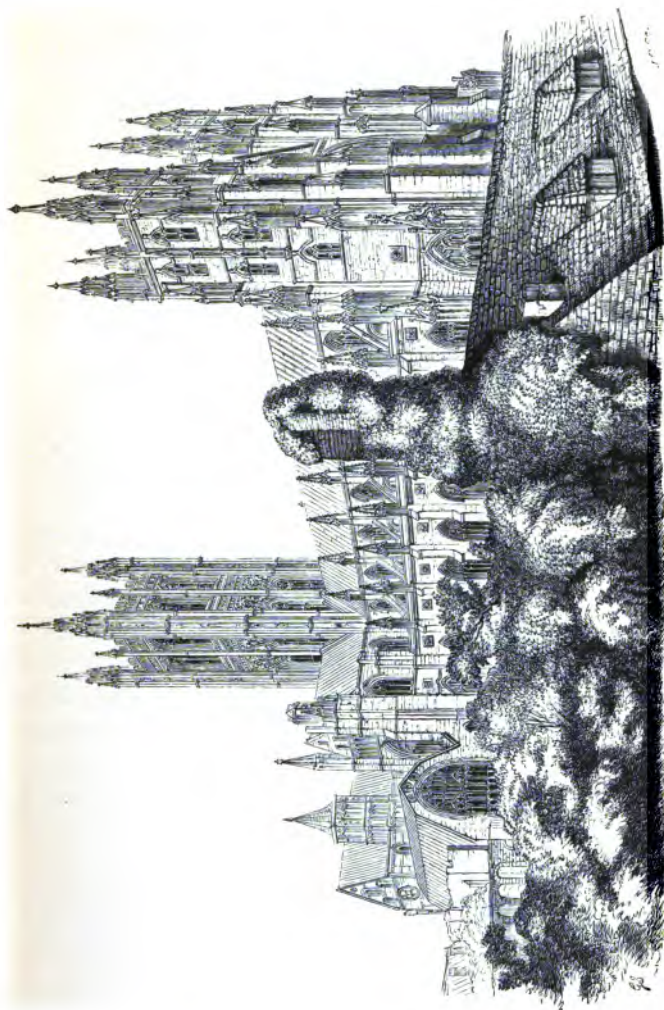
- A South Porch and Dunstan Tower.
 - B North-west Tower.
 - C Nave.
 - D North-west Transept, (or Transept of the Martyrdom).
 - E Dean's or Lady-chapel.
 - F Door into Cloisters.
 - G South-west Transept.
 - H St. Michael's, or the Warrior's Chapel.
 - I Choir.
 - J North Choir-aisle.
 - K South Choir-aisle.
 - L L Eastern Transepts.
 - M St. Andrew's Tower.
 - N St. Anselm's Tower.
 - O Trinity Chapel.
 - P Henry the Fourth's Chantry.
 - Q Corona.
 - R Passage to Crypt.
- 1 Site of St. Dunstan's Shrine.
 - 2 Norman wall marking the spot where Becket fell.
 - 3 Monument of Archbishop Peckham.
 - 4 Monument of Archbishop Warham.
 - 5 Monument of Archbishop Chichele.
 - 6 Monument of Archbishop Bourchier.
 - 7 Position of Becket's Shrine.
 - 8 Monument of the Black Prince.
 - 9 Monument of King Henry IV.
 - 10 Monument of Archbishop Courtenay.
 - 11 Monument of Cardinal Chatillon.
 - 12 Monument of Dean Wotton.
 - 13 Monument of Cardinal Pole.
 - 14 Unknown tomb.
 - 15 Monument of Archbishop Simon of Mepham.
 - 16 Tomb of Archbishop Anselm.
 - 17 Monument of Archbishop Simon of Sudbury.
 - 18 Monument of Archbishop Stratford.
 - 19 Monument of Archbishop Kemp.
 - 20 Site of Archbishop Winchelsea's monument.
 - 21 Monument of Archbishop Hubert Walter.
 - 22 Monument of Archbishop Walter Reynolds.
 - 23 Monument of Margaret Holland and her two husbands.
 - 24 Monument of Archbishop Stephen Langton.

GROUND-PLAN, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

Scale, 100 ft. to 1 in.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



GENERAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details*.

I. THE site of the existing cathedral of Canterbury is the same on which stood the primitive Roman or British church attributed to King Lucius, and granted by Ethelbert to Augustine:—"the earliest monument of the English union of Church and State." Eadmer expressly tells us that it resembled in its arrangements the old Basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, destroyed in the sixteenth century. As at St. Peter's, the altar was originally at the west end, with the episcopal throne behind it; there was also in both a crypt in imitation of the ancient catacombs in which the bones of the apostles were originally found, the first beginning of the crypt which still exists at Canterbury. These arrangements may either have been made by St. Augustine himself, or by Archbishop Ono (942—959) who

* It is proper to remark, that in preparing the following account of Canterbury Cathedral, great use has been made of Professor Willis's "Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral," and of Dr. Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," the two most important works on the subject which have recently appeared.

restored the roof and walls of the church. The building remained uncovered for three years; during which time, says Eadmer, no rain fell within its sacred enclosure. The renewed church was greatly injured during the sack of Canterbury by the Danes (1011), when the "*beata monachorum plebs*" were massacred, and Archbishop Alphege carried off to Greenwich, where he afterwards shared their fate. Canute repaired it in expiation, hanging up his crown in the nave, and restored the body of the martyred Alphege to the monks. The church was completely burnt down during the troubled times of the Conquest (1067), together with the many bulls and privileges of kings and popes which it contained.

Of this *first* or *Augustine's* church, no fragment remains. There are memorials of it in the *name* of the cathedral (Christ's Church), agreeing with Bede's statement that Augustine consecrated the Roman church he found in Canterbury "*in nomine sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi*;" in the present *crypt*, which succeeded the earlier one; and in the *southern porch*, which is the principal entrance at present, as it was in the Saxon church.

II. LANFRANC, the first archbishop after the Conquest, (1070—1089), found his cathedral church completely in ruins, pulled down the few remains of the monastic buildings, and reconstructed both church and monastery from their foundations. Under ANSELM, the next archbishop (1093—1109), the eastern part of this church was taken down, and re-erected with far greater magni-

ficence, by the care of Ernulph, prior of the monastery. His successor, Prior Conrad, finished the chancel, and decorated it with so much splendour that it was henceforth known as the "glorious choir of Conrad." The church thus finished was dedicated by Archbishop William in 1130. Henry, King of England, David, King of Scotland, and all the bishops of England, were present at this dedication, the "most famous," says Gervase, "that had ever been heard of on the earth since that of the temple of Solomon."

It was in *this* church that Becket was murdered (1170); and in the "glorious choir of Conrad" that his body was watched by the monks throughout the succeeding night.

III. Four years later (1174) this choir was entirely burnt down. "The people," says Gervase, himself a monk of Christ Church, and an eye-witness of the fire, "were astonished that the Almighty should suffer such things, and, maddened with excess of grief and perplexity, they tore their hair, and beat the walls and pavement of the church with their hands and heads, blaspheming the Lord, and His saints the patrons of His church;" a frenzy rather Italian than English, but curiously illustrating the fierce excitability of mediæval times. The rebuilding was entrusted to William of Sens, an architect of "lively genius and good reputation," who, beginning in September, 1174, continued the work until 1178, when, just after an eclipse of the sun, which Gervase seems to intimate had something to do with the accident, "through the vengeance of

God or spite of the devil," he fell from a scaffolding raised for turning the vault; and was so much injured that he was compelled to return to France. Another William succeeded him as master architect, "English by nation, small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest." Under the care of English William the choir and eastern buildings beyond it were completed in 1184, ten years from the burning of Conrad's choir.

IV. Lanfranc's nave still remained; but was taken down, and a new nave and transepts were built under Prior Chillenden, the works extending over the years between 1378—1410. The great central tower, at least that part of it which rises above the roof, was added by Prior Goldstone II. about 1495.

V. The *present* cathedral consists either of *portions* or of the *whole* of these different works, from the rebuilding by Lanfranc to the death of Prior Goldstone; a period of more than four centuries. It thus exhibits specimens of nearly all the classes of pointed architecture, the principal being Transitional-Norman and Perpendicular. Its gradual enlargements under Anselm and later, as well as its general arrangements, arose mainly from the great wealth of relics possessed by the church, and the necessity of finding shrine room for displaying them. The Saxon church contained the bodies of St. Blaize (bought by Archbishop Plegmund at Rome "for a great sum of gold and silver"); St. Wilfrid, brought from Ripon, ruined by the Northmen in 950; St. Dunstan, St. Alphege, and other sainted arch-

bishops of Canterbury; St. Audoen, or Ouen, of Rouen, brought to Canterbury by four clerks, about 957 (there was unfortunately another body at Rouen); besides the heads of St. Swithun, St. Furseus, and others, and the arm of St. Bartholomew. All these were enclosed in various altars, and in different chapels; and were carefully removed from the ruined church by Lanfranc. They were replaced in the new cathedral, where other similar treasures were added to them, and where they were at last joined by the greatest of all—the body of the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury. It should also be remarked that the existing cathedral, although of such various dates, covers, as nearly as can be ascertained, the same ground as the original building of Lanfranc, with the exception of the nave, which is of greater length westward, and of the retro-choir or extreme eastern portion, which is also longer.

VI. The principal ascertained dates of the different portions of the cathedral, together with their builders, may here be briefly recapitulated.

Nave	1378—1411	Prior Chillenden.
Choir	1174—1184	{ William of Sens, English William, architects.
Choir screen	1304-5 . . .	Prior Henry de Estria.
Towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm	{ 1070—1109	{ Archbishop Lanfranc, Prior Ernulf.
Retro-choir and corona	1178—1184	{ English William, architect.

Crypt as far as Tri-	}	1070—1109 Lanfranc and Ernulf.
nity Chapel . . .		
Crypt eastward of	}	1178—1184 English William.
Trinity Chapel . .		
Central or "Bell-	}	1495 . . . Prior Goldstone II.
Harry" Tower (a-		
bove the roof) . .		

VII. It must not be forgotten that the cathedral of Canterbury served at once as the metropolitan church, and as that of a great monastery; for, as in the case of all missionary churches, Augustine established a convent here in connection with his cathedral. (See Part II.) Lanfranc, after the Conquest, compiled a strict Rule for it and the other Benedictine monasteries throughout England. It was known as the convent of Christ's Church; and the massive wall by which it was surrounded, rendering it a fortress within a fortress, served at once for defence and for seclusion. This exterior wall was greatly strengthened by Lanfranc, and some portions, still remaining, are probably of his time. The principal entrance is PRIOR GOLDSTONE'S GATE, commonly called "Christ Church Gate," (at the end of Mercery-lane,) built 1517, and a fine example of late Perpendicular. The central niche was filled by a figure of our Saviour, and the defaced bearings on the shields below were those of contributors towards the work. The battlements with which the gate was originally crested were taken down not many years ago. Passing within this gate, we enter the precincts of the cathedral; than which no other in England—if perhaps we except

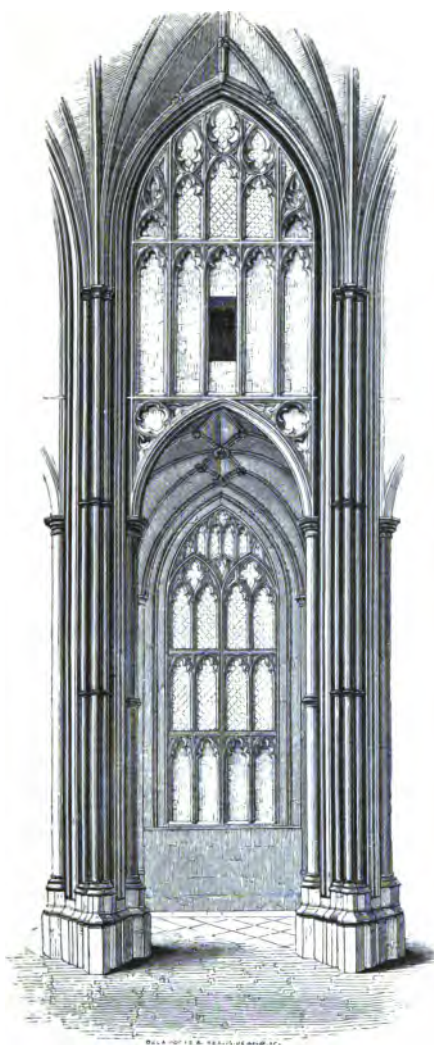
Lincoln—more completely dominates over the surrounding town. “Tanta majestate sese erigit in cœlum,” says Erasmus (*Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*), “ut procul etiam intuentibus religionem incutiat.” It has all the impressiveness of some great natural feature—rock or mountain—in the midst of a comparatively level district; a worthy shrine for the memorials of almost every reign in English history with which it is thronged. Nearly all the archbishops—“alterius orbis papæ”—(the words are first applied by Pope Urban II. to Archbishop Anselm), before the Reformation, are buried here, and most of their tombs remain. “There is no church, no place in the kingdom, with the exception of Westminster Abbey, that is so closely connected with the history of our country^b.”

VIII. The principal entrance is still, as in St. Augustine's church, the *south porch*. In the Saxon period and later, “all disputes throughout the whole kingdom, which could not be legally referred to the king's court, or to the hundreds or counties,” were judged in the “suth dure” or porch of the parish church or cathedral, which was generally built with an apse, in which stood an altar. The present south porch of Canterbury is part of the work of Prior Chillenden, about 1400. On a panel above the entrance Erasmus saw the figures of Becket's three murderers, ‘Tusci, Fuscii, and Berri,’ whom he describes in his colloquy as sharing the same kind of honour with Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas, when they appear on sculptured altar-tables: these have

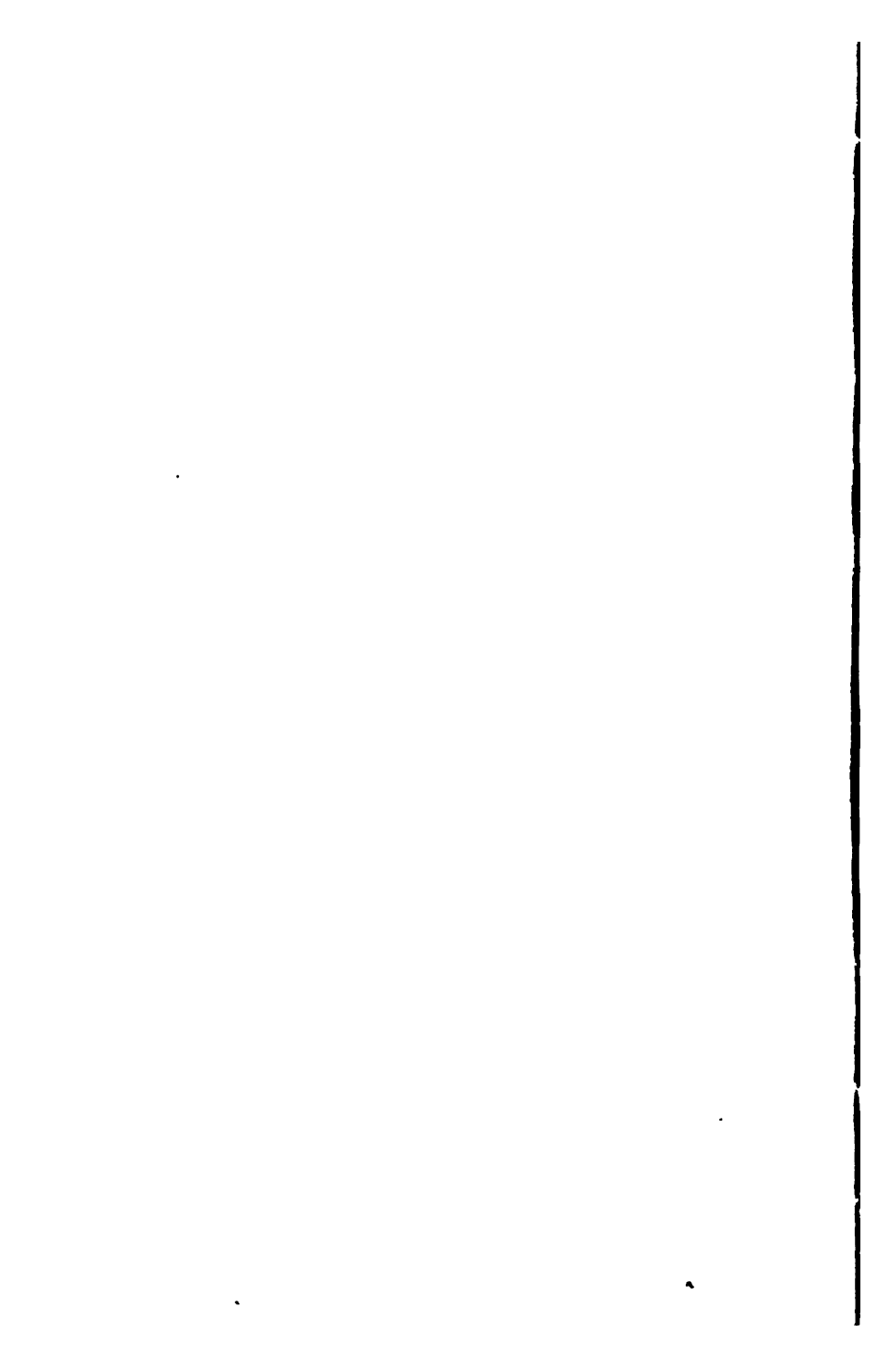
^b Stanley.

quite disappeared. In the portion that remains is still traceable an altar surmounted by a crucifix, between the figures of the Virgin and St. John: at the side are fragments of a sword, marking it as the "altar of the martyrdom." (See § XIX.) The arms in the vaulting of the porch are probably those of contributors toward the rebuilding of the nave; among them are the shields of England and France, the see of Canterbury, Chichester, and Courtenay.

IX. We now enter the *nave*. [Plate I.] The nave of Lanfranc's cathedral, which covered the same ground as that now existing, had in 1378 fallen into a ruinous condition, when Archbishop Sudbury issued a mandate granting forty days' indulgence to all contributors towards its rebuilding. The work was continued under his two successors, Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel, the architect being probably Thomas Chillenden, prior of the convent. The nave therefore dates from about 1380. Chillenden died in 1411. "The style is a light Perpendicular; and the arrangement of the parts has considerable resemblance to that of the nave of Winchester, although the latter is of a much bolder character. Winchester nave was going on at the same time with Canterbury nave, and a similar uncertainty exists about the exact commencement. In both a Norman nave was to be transformed, but at Winchester the original piers were either clothed with new ashlaring, or the old ashlaring was wrought into new forms and mouldings where possible; while at Canterbury the piers were altogether rebuilt. Hence the piers of Winchester



ONE BAY OF NAVE.



are much more massive. The side-aisles of Canterbury are higher in proportion, the tracery of the side-windows different; but those of the clerestory are almost identical in pattern, although they differ in the management of the mouldings. Both have 'lierne' vaults, and in both the triforium is obtained by prolonging the clerestory windows downward, and making panels of the lower lights; which panels have a plain opening cut through them, by which the triforium space communicates with the passage over the roof of the side-aisles^c."

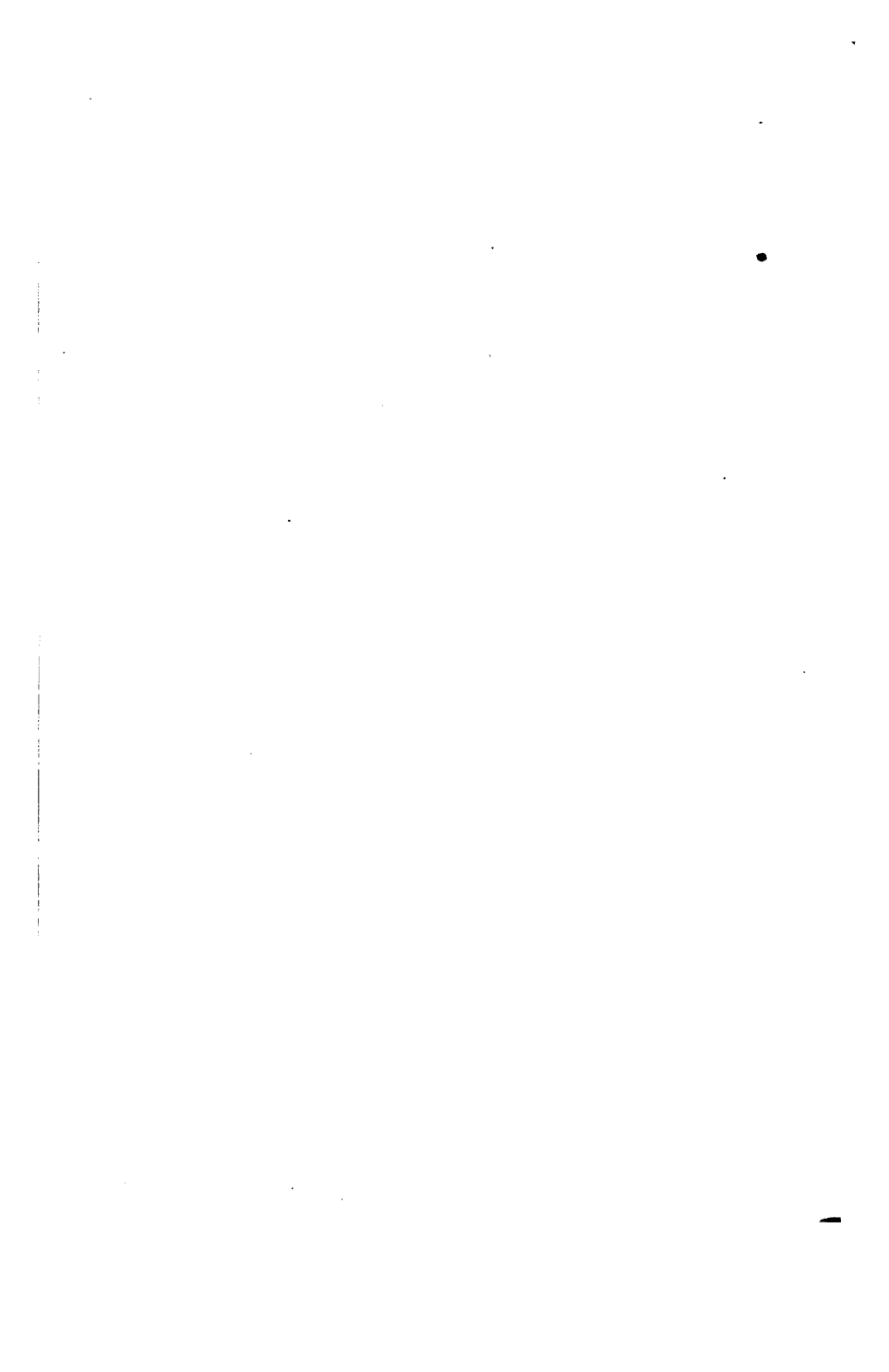
X. The first impression, however, differs greatly from that of Winchester, mainly owing to the height to which the choir is raised above the crypt below, and the numerous steps which are consequently necessary in order to reach it from the nave. In this respect Canterbury stands alone among both English and foreign cathedrals. These stately 'escaliers,' combined with the height and grandeur of the piers, breaking up from the pavement like some natural forest of stone, have always produced their effect even in the darkest anti-Gothic periods. "Entering in company with some of our colonists just arrived from America how have I seen the countenances even of their negroes sparkle with raptures of admiration^d!" Here the pilgrims waited, admiring the "*spaciosa ædificii majestas*," and deciphering the painted windows, until the time came for visiting the great shrine. "The nave contained nothing," says Erasmus, "except some books chained

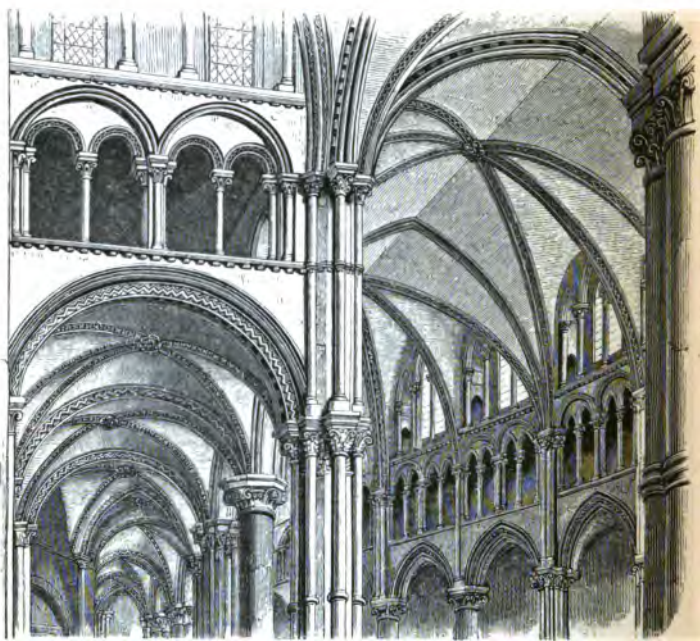
^c Willis.

^d Gostling's Walks through Canterbury, 1770.

to the pillars, among them the Gospel of Nicodemus, and the tomb of some unknown person*." This must have been either the chapel in the south wall, afterwards called Dean Neville's, built in 1447 by Lady Joan Brenchley, and removed altogether in 1787, or the tomb of Archbishop WHITTLESEA (died 1374), now destroyed. The Gospel of Nicodemus had been printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509. Of the nave *stained windows* none remain entire, the great west window having been made up of fragments from the others. In this, under the point of the arch, are the arms of Richard II. impaling the Confessor's, those of Anne of Bohemia on the north side, and of Isabella of France south. The memorial window adjoining it south, is the work of G. Austin, Esq.; as are also the windows in the clerestory, and on the south side, the commencement of a series, having for its subject the *Te Deum*, which is designed to fill the windows of the nave. In the *north aisle* are the monuments of ADRIAN SARAVIA, the friend of Hooker, who died here a prebendary in 1612; of ORLANDO GIBBONS, organist to Charles I.; and of SIR JOHN BOYS (died 1614), founder of the hospital without the north gate of the city. Memorials to officers and men of different regiments engaged in the Indian campaigns have been placed against the walls. In the *south aisle* is a recumbent figure, by LOUGH, in English alabaster, of Dr. Broughton, Bishop of Sydney, an old scholar of the King's School attached to the cathedral. The six panels in front bear the arms of

* Pereg. Relig. Ergo.





PORTION OF THE CHOIR.

the six Australian sees. Opposite, under a rich canopy, is an effigy of Dean LYALL, (died 1858,) by PHILLIPS.

XI. The piers which support the *central tower* are probably the original piers of Lanfranc's erection, cased with Perpendicular work by Prior Chillenden, at the same time with the building of the nave. To this, Prior Goldstone II. (1495—1517) added the vaulting of the tower, and all the portion above the roof, together with the remarkable buttressing-arches supporting the piers below, which had perhaps shewn some signs of weakness. These arches have on them the Prior's rebus, a shield with three golden bars or 'stones.' The central arch occupies the place of the ancient roodloft, and probably the great rood was placed on it until the Reformation.

XII. The *western screen*, through which we enter the choir, has no recorded date, but is of the fifteenth century. It is very beautiful and elaborate, and its carvings deserve the most careful examination. Of the six crowned figures in the lower niches the one holding a church is probably Ethelbert; the others are uncertain. Figures of the Saviour and His apostles originally filled the thirteen mitred niches encircling the arch, but were destroyed by the Puritan "Blue Dick" and his friends. The whole screen, including the figures, has lately been restored.

XIII. On entering the *choir* [Plate II.] the visitor is immediately struck by the singular bend with which the walls approach each other at the eastern end. But this remarkable feature, together with the great

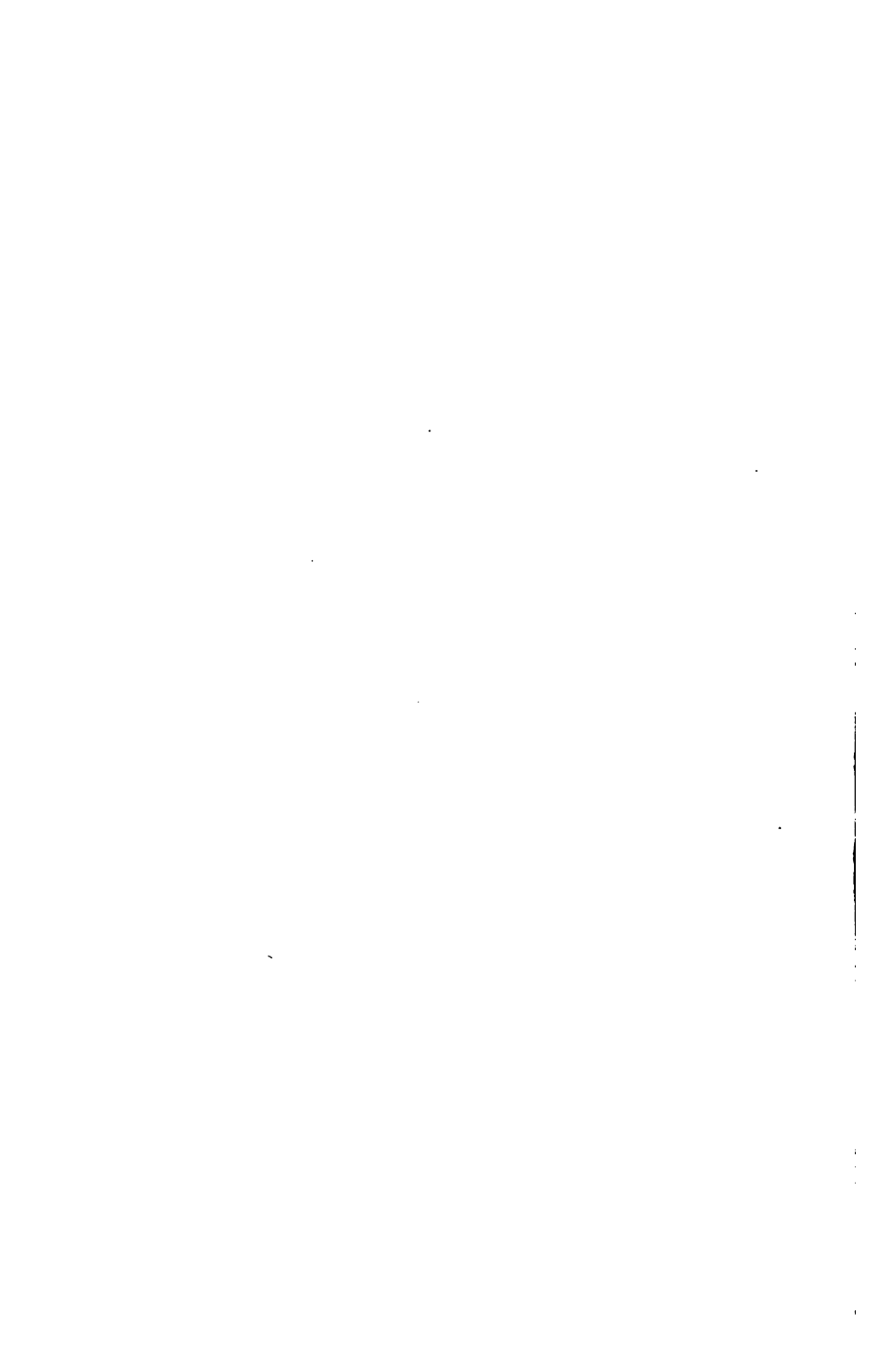
length of the choir (180 feet; it is the longest in England), and the lowness of the vaulting;—the antique character of the architecture, enforced by the strongly contrasted Purbeck and Caen stone, and the consequent fine effects of light and shadow;—all this produces a solemnity not unfitting the first great resting-place of the faith in Saxon England, and carries the mind more completely back into the past than many a cathedral more richly and elaborately decorated. The choir, as it at present exists, is the work of William of Sens and his successor, **ENGLISH WILLIAM** (1174—1184), by whom it was rebuilt after the burning of that of Conrad. Gervase, the contemporary monk, supplies full details of all the operations, so that we are enabled to follow the works year by year^f. The style is throughout Transition, having Norman and Early English characteristics curiously intermixed. The pillars with their pier-arches, the clerestory wall above, and the great vault up to the transepts, were entirely finished by William of Sens. The whole work differed greatly from that of the former choir. The richly foliated and varied capitals of the pillars [Plate III.], the great vault with its ribs of stone, and the numerous slender shafts of marble in the triforia, were all novelties exciting the great admiration of the monks.

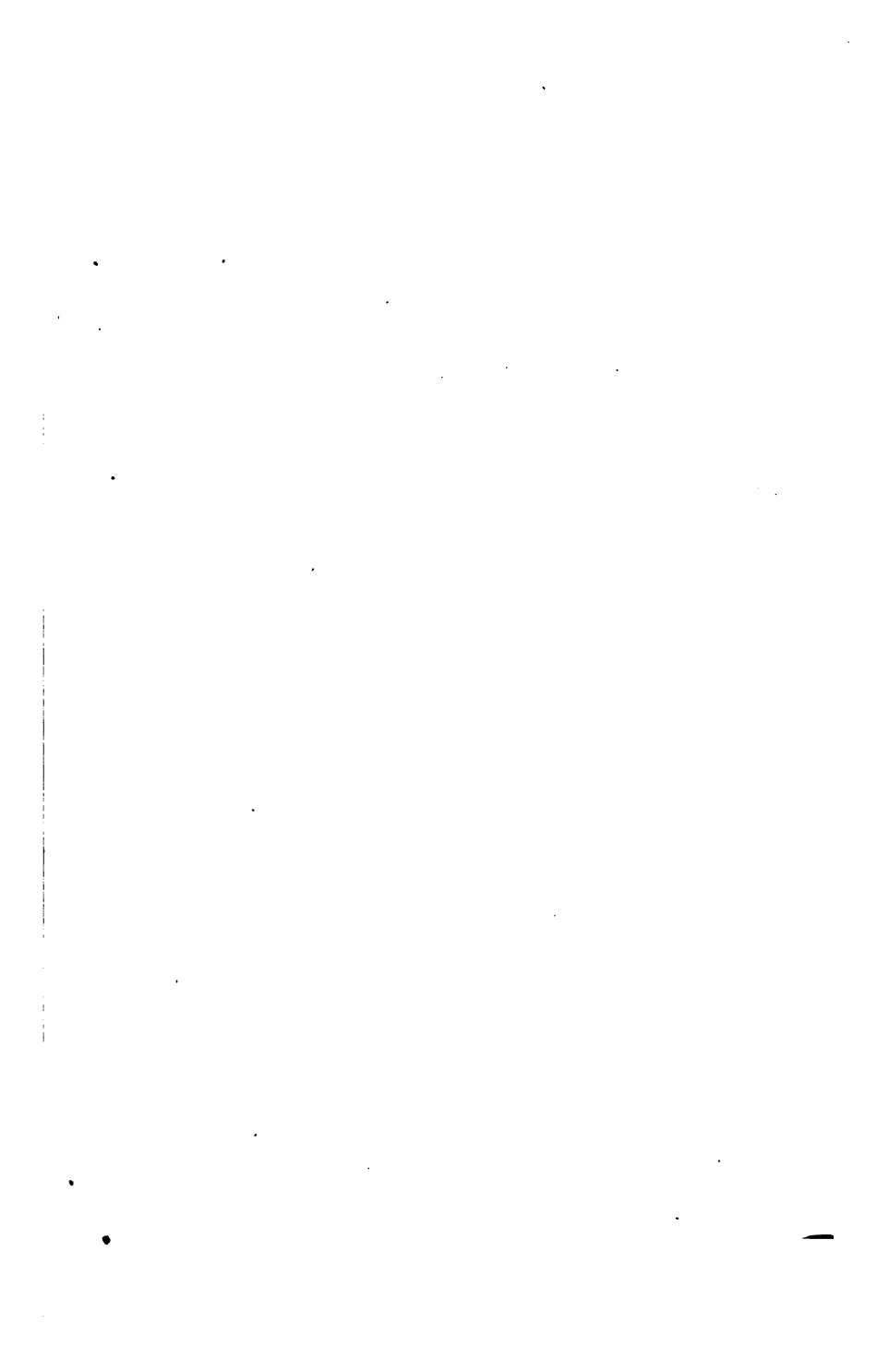
The cathedral of Sens, at that time the Canterbury

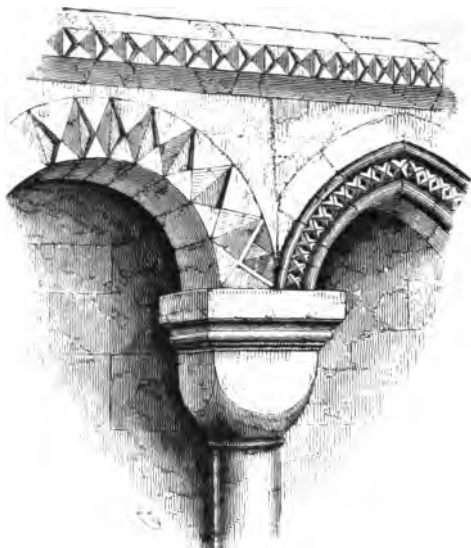
^f See the translation of the entire tract of Gervase in Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 32—62. The original will be found in the collection known as the *Decem Scriptores*.



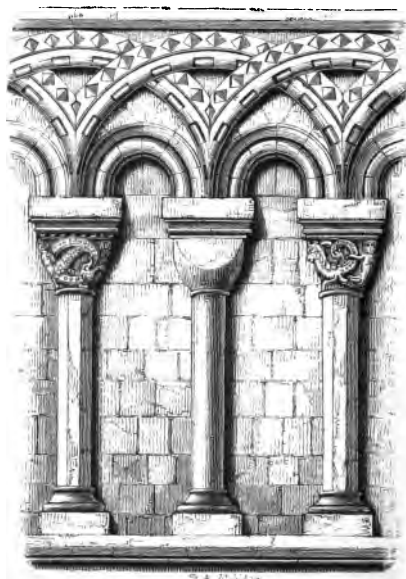
CAPITALS IN THE CHOIR.



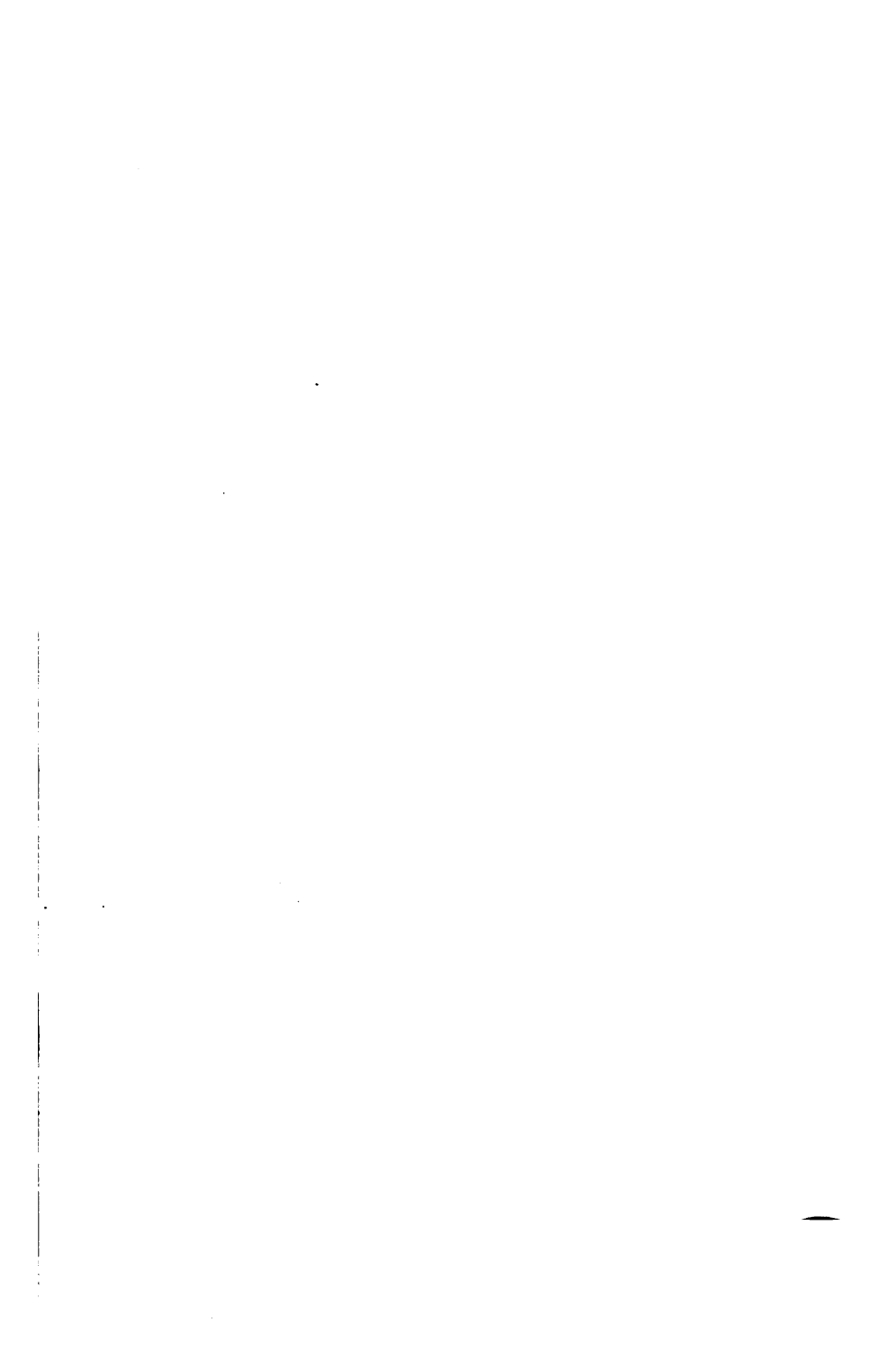




ARCHES IN SOUTH AISLE—JUNCTION OF WORK.

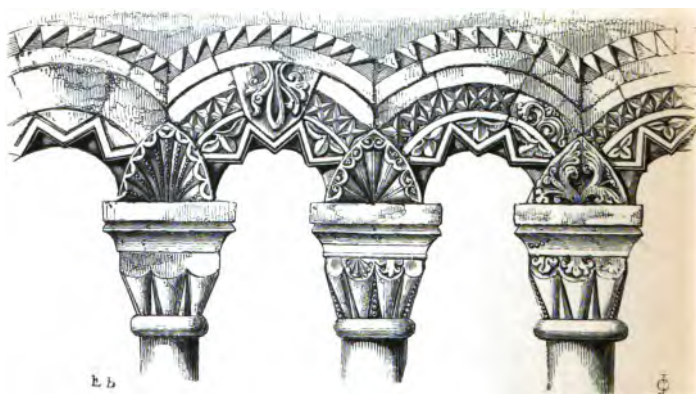


ARCADE, NORTH SIDE, EXTERIOR.





TRIFORIUM IN THE CHOIR; FROM WITHIN.



DETAILS OF THE NORMAN STAIRCASE.

of France and the seat of the Primacy, must have largely influenced the architect William. It dates from 1143 to 1168, and must have been well known at Canterbury from Becket's residence there during his exile. It has several peculiarities in common with Canterbury; for example, double piers, composed of two columns, set one behind the other, foliated capitals, rings on some of the slender shafts, and the same system of vaulting. The mouldings of William of Sens are very varied, exhibiting a profusion of billet-work, zig-zag, and dog-tooth, [Plate IV.], — the first two characteristics of Norman, the last of Early English; a mixture of ornaments in accordance with the mixture of round and pointed arches throughout. The triforium [Plate V.] exhibits this curiously, the outer arch being circular, the two inner, which it circumscribes, pointed. The clerestory arches are pointed. The stone vault was one of the earliest, if not the very first, constructed in England, and exhibits the same mixture of styles. Some of the transverse ribs are pointed, others round: the diagonal are all round. William of Sens fell from the upper part of the clerestory wall, a height of fifty feet, whilst preparing to turn the portion of this vault between the transepts. Of this part he directed the completion from his bed, and the work was then resigned to English William.

The remarkable contraction at the head of the choir was rendered necessary from the architect's desire of uniting his work with the towers of St. Anselm and St. Andrew, which still remain on either side. These

had escaped the recent fire, and, as they were not to be removed, they "would not allow the breadth of the choir to proceed in the direct line." It was also determined that a chapel of St. Thomas, the new martyr, should be placed at the head of the church, in the room of the chapel of the Trinity, which had been destroyed; but the dimensions of this chapel were to be preserved, and as it was much narrower than the choir, this last had to be narrowed so as to coincide with it. The second or eastern transepts already existed in the former church, and were retained by William of Sens.

The best general views of the choir will be obtained from the upper stalls, north and south, toward the west end, where the full beauty of these eastern transepts is gained. The effects of light are grand, though it is much to be wished that the whole of the windows in the transept clerestory were filled with stained glass. Colour might perhaps also be introduced with advantage throughout the vaulting itself, which is now somewhat cold and ceiling-like.

XIV. The great height to which the altar is raised resulted from the construction of the new crypt under St. Thomas's Chapel, which is much loftier than the older choir crypt. On the completion of the choir by William of Sens the high altar stood completely isolated, without a reredos; and behind it, east, was placed the metropolitan chair, its ancient and true position,

still to be seen in many early Continental churches, (Torcello in the Lagunes of Venice is an excellent example). This was afterwards removed into the corona, and is now in the south choir transept.

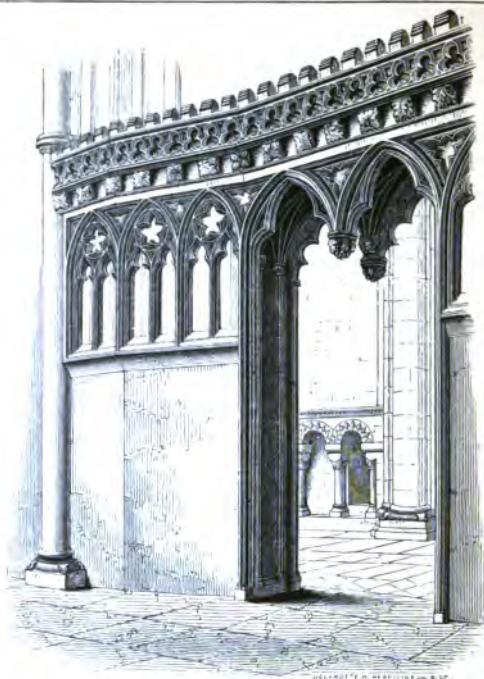
The *reredos*, which was erected behind the high altar (probably during the fourteenth century), was destroyed by the Puritans in 1642. It was succeeded by an elaborate Corinthian screen, which was removed only a few years since, and replaced by the present reredos, "imitated from the screen-work of the Lady-chapel in the crypt." The high altar before the Reformation was most richly adorned, and in a grated vault beneath was a treasury of gold and silver vessels, in presence of which, says Erasmus, Midas and Croesus would have seemed but beggars. The Puritans destroyed "a most idolatrous, costly glory cloth," presented by Laud. The existing altar coverings, of crimson velvet, were the gift of Queen Mary, wife of William III., on a visit to the cathedral. Among the plate is a chalice, an offering of the Earl of Arundel, ambassador of Charles I. to Germany, on his passing through Canterbury in 1636.

Within the choir, before the Reformation, there were, besides the high altar, the altar-shrines of St. Alphege and St. Dunstan. That of ST. ALPHEGE, the archbishop martyred by the Northmen in 1011, whose body was restored to Canterbury by Canute, was on the north side, near the present altar. No trace of it exists. On the south wall of the choir, between the monuments of Archbishops Stratford and Sudbury, there still remains some diaper-work of open lilies, a part of the decoration

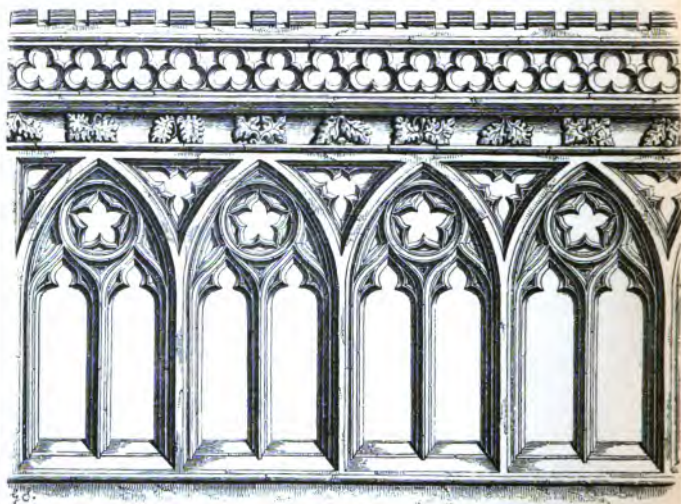
of *St. Dunstan's altar*, which stood there. The bodies of *St. Alphege* and *St. Dunstan*, co-exiles with the monks after the fire, says *Gervase*, were re-conveyed into the choir with great ceremony. The shrine of *Dunstan* was opened by *Archbishop Warham* in 1508, in consequence of a dispute with the monks of *Glastonbury*, who declared that the body of the Saint had been removed to *Glastonbury* after the sack of *Canterbury* by the Danes. A body, however, with a plate of lead on the breast, inscribed "*Sanctus Dunstanus*," was found on the opening of the shrine. A portion of the Saint's skull was then enclosed in a silver reliquary, made in the form of a head, and placed with the other relics, which in their ivory, gilt, or silver coffers, were exhibited to the pilgrims on the north side of the choir. Among them were pieces of *Aaron's rod*, some of the clay from which *Adam* was made, and, especially precious, the right arm of "our dear lord, the Knight *St. George*." Each of these relics was devoutly kissed, except by such "*Wickliffites*" as *Dean Colet*, who visited *Canterbury* with *Erasmus* in 1512.

XV. An especial interest belongs to a small portion of the *pavement* of the choir, lying between the transepts. It is of a peculiar stone, or veined marble, of a delicate brown colour, and "when parts of it are taken up for repair or alteration, it is usual to find lead which has run between the joints of the slabs, and spread on each side below, and which is with great reason supposed to be the effect of the fire of 1174, which melted the lead of the roof, and caused it to run down between





NORTH DOOR OF DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN, INNER FACE.



PRIOR DE ESTRIA'S SCREEN.

the paving-stones in this manner^h." This is, therefore, a fragment of the original pavement of "the glorious choir of Conrad," in which the body of Becket was watched by the monks throughout the night following the murder.

XVI. The wainscoting which formerly concealed the tracery of the choir-screen has been removed, except at the west end. A Corinthian throne, of wainscot, carved by Gibbons, and presented by Archbishop Tenison in 1704, has been replaced by a lofty stone canopy of tabernacle-work, the gift of Archbishop Howley.

The *organ*, rebuilt by Samuel Green, 1784, and enlarged by Hill, 1842, formerly stood over the west screen, but has now been "ingeniously deposited out of sight in the triforium of the south aisle of the choir. A low pedestal, with its keys, stands in the choir itself, so as to place the organist close to the singers, as he ought to be; and the communication between the keys and the organ is effected by trackers passing under the pavement of the side aisles, and conducted up to the triforium through a trunk let into the south wallⁱ."

XVII. The *screen* surrounding the choir is the work of Prior HENRY DE ESTRIA (constructed 1304-5), [Plate VI.], and is "valuable on account of its well-ascertained date, combined with its great beauty and singularity^j." The entire height is fourteen feet. The north doorway [Title-page] remains perfect: its central pendent bosses are especially remarkable. The south

^h Willis.

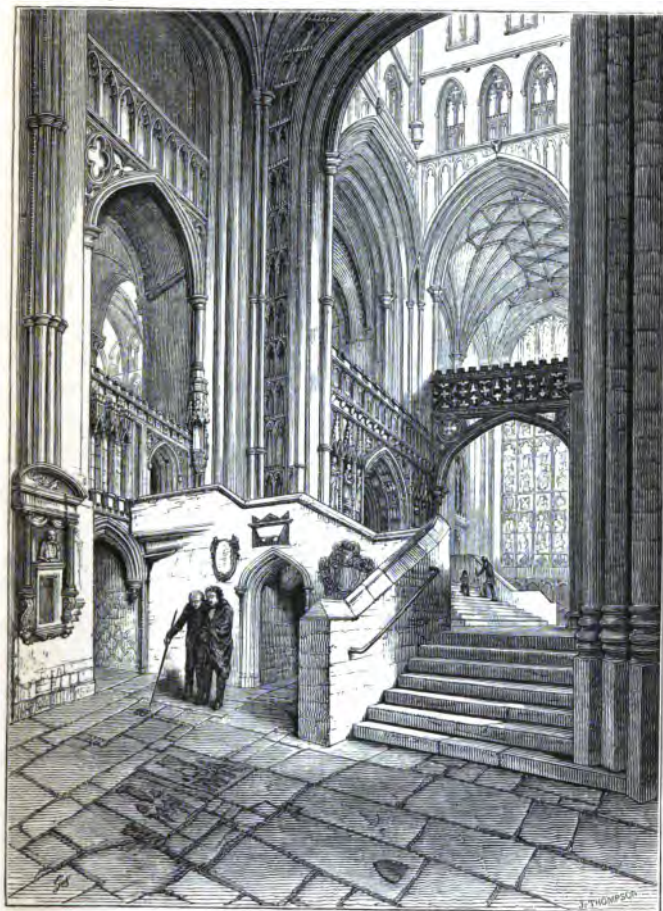
ⁱ Id.

^j Id.

door is much later, and is "manifestly a subsequent insertion."

XVIII. The monuments in the choir will be best examined from the side-aisles. Leaving it again at the west door of the screen, we follow in the track of the pilgrims, who were usually conducted into the *north transept*, called the *Transept of the Martyrdom* [Plate VII.], through the dark passage under the choir steps. We are now on the actual scene of the murder; but although the transept was not injured by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, it was completely altered by Prior Chillenden during the building of the present nave.

Lanfranc's church had closely resembled that of the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, of which he was abbot, and which was in building at the same time. In the transept of St. Stephen's may still be seen the arrangement which existed in that of Canterbury at the time of Becket's murder. The transept was divided into an upper and lower portion by a vault open on the side of the nave, where it was supported by a single pillar. In the eastern apse of the *lower* part was the altar of St. Benedict, in the *upper* that of St. Blaize. Many of the Saxon archbishops were also buried in the *lower* apse. There was a piece of solid wall intervening between this apse and two flights of steps, one leading down into the crypt, the other upward into the north aisle of the choir. In the west wall a door opened into the cloister. Becket, after the violent scene in his chamber with the knights, was dragged along the clois-



MARTYRDOM TRANSEPT.

ter by the monks, and entered the transept by this door, which, after it had been barred by his attendants, he flung open himself, saying that "the church must not be turned into a castle;" and the knights, who had followed through the cloister, now instantly rushed into the church. It was about five o'clock, Dec. 29, 1170, O.S., and *Tuesday*; remarked as a significant day in Becket's life, and afterwards regarded as the week-day especially consecrated to the saint. The church must have been nearly dark, with the exception of the few lamps burning here and there before the altars. Vespers had already commenced, but were thrown into utter confusion on the news of the knights' approach, and when they entered the cathedral all the monks who had gathered about Becket fled to the different altars and hiding-places. There remained with him only Robert, canon of Merton, his old instructor; William Fitzstephen, his chaplain; and Edward Grim, a Saxon monk. They urged him to ascend to the choir, and he had already passed up some steps of the eastern flight leading to it, perhaps intending to go to the patriarchal chair at the high altar, when the knights rushed in, and Reginald Fitzurse, who was first, coming round the central pillar, advanced to the foot of the steps, and called out, "Where is the Archbishop?" Becket immediately stopped, and returned to the transept, attired in his white rochet, with a cloak and hood thrown over his shoulders. He took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall between St. Benedict's altar and the choir steps. There the

knights gathered round him, and at first endeavoured to drag him out of the church. But Becket set his back against the pillar, and resisted with all his might, whilst Grim flung his arm round him to aid his efforts. In the struggle Becket threw Tracy down on the pavement. After a fierce dispute, in which the Archbishop's language was at least as violent as that of the knights, Fitzurse, roused to frenzy, struck off Becket's cap with his sword. The Archbishop then covered his eyes with his hands, and commended himself to God, to St. Denys of France, to St. Alphege, and the other saints of the church. Tracy sprang forward and struck more decidedly. Grim, whose arm was still round the archbishop, threw it up to avert the blow; the arm was nearly severed, and Grim fled to the altar of St. Benedict close by. The stroke also wounded Becket, who, after two others, also from Tracy, fell flat on his face before the corner wall. In this posture, Richard le Bret, crying, "Take this for the love of my lord William, the king's brother," struck him so violently, that the scalp or crown was severed from the skull, and the sword snapped in two on the pavement. Hugh of Horsea, the chaplain of Robert de Broc, who was with the knights, then thrust his sword into the wound, and scattered the brains over the floor. This was the final act. Hugh de Moreville was the only one of the knights who had struck no blow. He had been holding the entrance of the transept. The four knights then rushed from the church through the cloisters, and re-entered the palace, which they plundered, carrying off from the

stables the horses, on which Becket had always greatly prided himself.

XIX. We have now to see how far the existing transept retains any memorials of this scene, regarded throughout Christendom as unexampled in sacrilege since the crucifixion of our Lord. And *first*, much of the original Norman walls was allowed to remain in the transepts when Chillenden rebuilt them at the same time with the nave; and portions of Lanfranc's ash-laring are still visible on the west side of the door leading into the cloisters. This is therefore the actual door by which Becket and the knights entered the church. *Next*, the wall between the chapel of St. Benedict and the passage leading to the crypt, in front of which the Archbishop fell, still remains unaltered, "for the masonry of the fifteenth century, which clothes every other part of the transept^k, does not intrude itself here, but is cut off many feet above." *Lastly*, there is reason to believe that the pavement immediately in front of the wall is that existing at the time of the murder. It is a hard Caen stone, and from the centre of one of the flags a small square piece has been cut out, possibly as a relic^l. In front of the wall, and on a portion of the

^k Not entirely, as has been seen above.

^l A tradition, of uncertain age, asserts that such a relic was taken to Rome by the legatés in 1173, and deposited in Sta. Maria Maggiore, where a fragment of Becket's tunic, and small bags, said to contain portions of the brain, are still shewn. The older Kentish topographers, however, down to Hasted, know nothing of this story; and Baronius, who mentions the other relics, says

pavement, was erected a wooden altar to the Virgin, called "*Altare ad punctum ensis*," where a portion of the brains was shewn under a piece of rock-crystal, and where were exhibited and kissed by the pilgrims the fragments of Le Bret's sword which had been broken on the floor. (The sword worn by Hugh de Moreville was preserved in Carlisle Cathedral, and is still to be seen at Brayton-hall, in Cumberland.) In order that this altar might be better seen, the pillar and vault above it were removed. The stairs also up which Becket was ascending have disappeared, but the ancient arrangement, precisely similar, may still be seen in the south transept. (For the cloisters, generally entered from this transept, see § L.)

XX. The great window of the north transept was the gift of Edward IV. and his Queen, whose figures still remain in it, together with those of his daughters, and of the two princes murdered in the Tower. The "remarkably soft and silvery appearance" of this window has been noticed by Mr. Winston^m. In its original state the Virgin was pictured in it "in seven several glorious appearances," and in the centre was Becket himself at full length, robed and mitred. This part was demolished in 1642 by Richard Culmer, called "Blue Dick," the great iconoclast of Canterbury, who "rattled down proud Becket's glassie bones" with a pike, and who, when thus engaged, narrowly escaped

nothing of the square of pavement. The probability is that the story is not older than the present century.

^m Ancient Painted Glass.

martyrdom himself at the hands of a "malignant" fellow-townsmen, who "threw a stone with so good a will that if St. Richard Culmer had not ducked he might have laid his own bones among the rubbish."

In this transept is the monument of Archbishop PECKHAM (1279—1292: see Part II.), *temp.* Edw. I., whose marriage with Margaret of France was solemnized on this spot in 1299, by Peckham's successor, Archbishop Winchelsea. Peckham's effigy is in Irish oak. This is the earliest complete monument in the cathedral. Adjoining, "a very handsome specimen of a very common design," is that of Archbishop WARHAM (1503—1532), the friend and patron of Erasmus: (see Part II.)

XXI. The site of the chapel of St. Benedict, to the altar of which Grim fled, is now occupied by the *Dean's* or *Lady-chapel*, built by Prior GOLDSTONE (1449—1468) in honour of the Virgin. It has a rich fan vault. In it are the monuments of many of the deans. Those of FOTHERBY, a curious specimen of the worst "debased" taste; of Dr. BARGRAVE (died 1642), with the copy of a portrait, by Jansen, now in the Deanery; of Dean BOYS, seated in his study; and of Dr. TURNER, who attended Charles I. at Hampton Court and in the Isle of Wight, are the most remarkable.

XXII. From the Transept of the Martyrdom we advance into the *north aisle of the choir*, up which the pilgrims were conducted on their way to the great shrine. The walls of the side-aisles and of the choir-transepts were not destroyed by the fire which consumed Conrad's choir, and although throughout altered

and enriched by William of Sens, still retain large portions of the original work of Prior Ernulf, by whom the rebuilding of Lanfranc's choir was commenced during the episcopate of Anselm^a. The arcade at the base of the wall in the aisle, is Ernulf's, and his piers and arch-heads were retained in the aisle windows; which, however, were raised by William about 3 ft. 8 in. In the *choir transept*, the clerestory windows of Ernulf's work are the present triforium windows. The arcade-work and mouldings here, and the present clerestory windows, are all William of Sens'. There is a marked difference in the base-mouldings and in the masonry of the vaulting-shafts between the works of Ernulf and William, the first being much plainer. Throughout, William of Sens, whilst improving and enriching, seems to have aimed at harmonizing his work with Ernulf's; hence his mixture of round and pointed arches, and a certain imitation in portions of ornamental mouldings, purposely kept simple, although very graceful in outline. [See Plate IV.] "Ernulf's carvings," says Gervase, "were worked by an axe, and not by a chisel, like William's;" and the difference can readily be traced.

The *stained windows* in the lower part of the aisle are of extreme beauty, and deserve the closest examination. They are of the same date and character as those in the Trinity Chapel. (See § xxviii.) On the corner of the wall, adjoining the transept, are the remains of a mural painting representing the conversion of

^a See Willis, Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath., for a careful distinction between the architecture of Ernulf and William of Sens.

St. Hubert. In the *transept* are memorial windows for Dr. Spry and Canon Chesshyre; and one in memory of Dr. Stanley's Eastern travels, and of his connection with this cathedral.

In the two eastern apses of this transept were the altars of St. Stephen and St. Martin, and over them relics of SS. Swithun and Vulgarius. The bases of the arches, opening into these apses, are William of Sens' work, and very elegant.

XXIII. At the end of the aisle, close to the steps ascending to the retro-choir, is the door of *St. Andrew's tower*, part of Lanfranc's building, now used as a vestry. It was formerly the sacristy, and in it the privileged class of pilgrims were shewn the 'wealth' of silken robes and golden candlesticks belonging to the church; Becket's pastoral staff of pear-wood, with its crook of black horn; his bloody handkerchief; and a black leather chest, containing linen rags with which he wiped his forehead and blew his nose. All knelt when this chest was exhibited.

XXIV. On the choir side of the aisle, opposite the transept, is the monument of HENRY CHICHELE (1414—1443), the Archbishop of Henry V. and of Agincourt, the instigator of the last great war of conquest in France. (See Pt. II.) This monument, in many respects remarkable, was erected by him during his life, and, like his college of All Souls, may possibly indicate his "deep remorse for this sin," which seems also hinted at in a letter to the Pope. All the details of the effigy should be noticed. Angels support the head, and at

the feet are two kneeling monks with open books. Below, and within the arched sides of the tomb, is laid an emaciated figure in a winding-sheet. Most of the small figures with which the niches were filled were destroyed by the Puritans, and those which now exist are of later date. The monument is kept in repair and colour by the Warden and Fellows of All Souls'. Beyond, is a recumbent figure of Archbishop HOWLEY, (died 1848), buried at Addington, for which place this monument was originally destined. This is the first monument of an archbishop placed in the cathedral since the Reformation*. Between the last two piers of the choir is the monument of the Cardinal Archbishop BOURCHIER (1454—1486), whose episcopate of fifty-one years—as bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as archbishop—is the longest on record in the English Church. The tomb, which has a lofty canopy, much enriched, displays the 'Bourchier knot' among its ornaments: all the details deserve attention.

XXV. We now ascend into the *retro-choir*. The steep flights of steps by which it is reached from the choir-aisles were rendered necessary by the great loftiness of the crypt under the extreme eastern portion of the cathedral. Up these steps the pilgrims climbed on their knees, and the indentations on the stones yet tell

* Most of the archbishops since the Reformation are buried either at Lambeth or at Croydon. Laud and Juxon are interred in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford; Sancroft lies at Fresingfield in Suffolk, and Tillotson in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry.

of the long trains of worshippers by which they have been mounted age after age. At the foot of the stairs were placed receptacles for offerings. This "long succession of ascents by which church seemed piled upon church," may have suggested the hymn to St. Thomas :—

" Tu per Thomæ sanguinem
 Quem pro te impendit
 Fac nos Christo *scandere*
 Quo Thomas *ascendit* »."

The whole of this part of the cathedral, from the choir-screen to the extreme east end, is the work of English William. It is marked by a lighter character than that of William of Sens, though its main features are the same. In the side aisles, and in the eastern apse or corona, English William's style is best distinguished. His "slender marble shafts" are so detached and combined as to produce "a much greater lightness and elegance of effect than in the work of the previous architect," and a single order of mouldings is used throughout¹.

XXVI. The central portion of the retro-choir, between the piers formed by double columns, is the *Chapel of the Holy Trinity*, or, as it was more generally called, that of *St. Thomas*. In the ancient Chapel of the Trinity, burnt at the same time with Conrad's choir, Becket had sung his first mass after his installation as archbishop; and, after the rebuilding, this was the spot chosen for his shrine, toward the ancient position of which the stranger first turns, in spite of the stately

¹ Stanley.

² Willis.

tombs around him. The place where the shrine stood is exactly ascertained by the mosaic of the pavement, a fragment of the *Opus Alexandrinum* with which most of the Roman basilicas are paved. (Portions of a similar pavement remain in Westminster Abbey about the shrine of the Confessor.) Some of the signs of the zodiac, besides representations of virtues and vices, may be traced on it. This mosaic was immediately in front of the shrine, which stood eastward of it. [Plate VIII.] An indentation in the pavement, running for some distance eastward on either side, is thought to mark the limit beyond which the ordinary class of pilgrims was not allowed to advance, and at which they knelt whilst the marvels of the shrine were pointed out by the Prior. In the roof above is fixed a crescent, made of some foreign wood, which has not been clearly accounted for. It possibly refers to Becket's title of "St. Thomas Acrensis," given him from his especial patronage of the Hospital of St. John at Acre. His intercession was thought to have driven the Saracens from that fortress. A number of iron staples formerly existed near this crescent, and perhaps supported a trophy of flags and spears.

XXVII. Some account of the *translation* of the relics of Becket to this part of the cathedral, of the *shrine* itself, and of its later *history*, may here be given. On the morning after the murder the body of the Archbishop, for fear of the knights, who threatened yet further to dishonour it, was hastily buried at the east end of the crypt. Here it remained, after the solemn



FROM TRINITY CHAPEL.



PAVEMENT ROUND BECKET'S SHRINE.



FROM TRINITY CHAPEL.

canonization by Pope Alexander III. in 1173, and after the fire of 1174, until the new choir and chapels had for some time been completed, and everything was duly prepared for its translation. This took place on Tuesday, July 7, 1220, after two years' notice circulated throughout Europe, and before such an assemblage as had never been collected in any part of England before. The archbishop, Stephen Langton, in the presence of all the monks of his convent, opened the tomb in the crypt the night before. The next day, Pandulph the legate, the archbishops of Rheims and Canterbury, and Hubert de Burgh, Grand Justiciary of England, carried on their shoulders the chest containing the bones up to the shrine prepared for them behind the high altar. Nearly all the bishops of the province of Canterbury were present, and the procession was led by the young king, Henry III., then only thirteen. Of the shrine itself a drawing remains among the Cottonian MSS., and it is also represented in one of the stained windows. It resembled that of St. Cuthbert at Durham. The altar of St. Thomas stood at the head of it. The lower part was of stone, and on marble arches, against which the sick and lame pilgrims were allowed to rub themselves in hope of a cure. The mass of worshippers did not pass beyond the iron rails that surrounded it. The shrine itself rested on the marble arches, and was covered with a wooden canopy, which at a given signal was drawn up, "and the shrine then appeared, blazing with gold and jewels; the wooden sides were plated with gold and damasked with gold wire, and embossed with innu-

merable pearls and jewels and rings, cramped together on this gold ground." As all fell on their knees, the Prior came forward and touched the several jewels with a white wand, naming the giver of each. One was supposed to be the finest in Europe. It was a great carbuncle or diamond, as large as a hen's egg, called the "Regale of France," and presented by Louis VII. of France, who, said the legend, was somewhat unwilling to part with so great a treasure; but the stone leapt from the ring in which he wore it, and fastened itself firmly into the shrine, a miracle against which there was no striving. The 'Regale' burnt at night like a fire, and would suffice for a king's ransom. Louis was the first French king who ever set foot upon English ground. He had visited the tomb in the crypt in 1179, and "being very fearful of the water," he obtained St. Thomas's promise that neither he nor any other person crossing from Dover to Whitsand or Calais should suffer shipwreck. Here also came Richard on his liberation from his Austrian dungeon, walking from Sandwich to give thanks to "God and St. Thomas." John followed him; and every succeeding English king, and their great foreign visitors, did repeated homage at the upper shrine. Edward I. (1299) offered here no less a gift than the golden crown of Scotland. Henry V. was here on his return from Agincourt. Emanuel, the Emperor of the East, paid his visit to Canterbury in 1400; Sigismund, Emperor of the West, in 1417. In 1520 Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. knelt here together. "They rode together from Dover on the morning of Whit-

sunday, and entered the city through St. George's-gate. Under the same canopy were seen both the youthful sovereigns. Cardinal Wolsey was directly in front; on the right and left were the proud nobles of Spain and England; the streets were lined with clergy, all in full ecclesiastical costume. They lighted off their horses at the west door of the cathedral; Warham was there to receive them. Together they said their devotions—doubtless before the shrine." Myriads of pilgrims, of all countries and of all ranks, thronged year after year toward Canterbury, "the holy blissful martyr for to seek," after the fashion of that immortal company which shines in the pages of Chaucer with a glory more lasting than that of the "great Regale" itself; and churches were dedicated to St. Thomas throughout every part of Christendom, from Palestine to Scotland.

The Vigil of the Translation, July 6, had always been kept as a solemn fast in the English Church until 1537, when, a sign of greater changes to come, Archbishop Cranmer "ate flesh" on the eve, and "did sup in his hall with his family, which was never seen before." In April, 1538, (such at least was the story believed at the time on the Continent, although there is some reason for distrusting it,) a summons was addressed in the name of Henry VIII. "to thee, Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," charging him with treason, contumacy, and rebellion. It was read at the shrine, and thirty days allowed for Becket's appearance. As this did not occur, the case was tried at Westminster, where the Attorney-General represented

Henry II., and an advocate was appointed by Henry VIII. for Becket. The first prevailed, and sentence was pronounced that the Archbishop's bones should be burnt, and the offerings forfeited to the Crown. The bones, however, were not burnt, but buried; the jewels and gold of the shrine were carried off in two coffers on the shoulders of seven or eight men, and the remaining offerings filled twenty-six carts. (The annual offerings at the shrine, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they had much decreased in value, averaged about £4,000 of our money.) The "Regale" was long worn by Henry in his thumb-ring. Finally, an order appeared that Becket was no longer to be called a saint, but "Bishop Becket;" that his images throughout the realm were to be pulled down, and his name razed out of all books. This last injunction was rigidly carried out. "The name of Geta has not been more carefully erased by his rival brother on every monument of the Roman empire." At this time, also, Becket's Cornish choughs were removed from the arms of the city.

XXVIII. His figure, however, was still allowed to remain here and there, in *stained windows*; and, fortunately, some of those which once entirely surrounded Trinity Chapel were of this number. The windows here and in the Corona should be most carefully examined. They are of the thirteenth century, and among the finest of this date in Europe, excelling in many respects those of Bourges, Troyes, and Chartres; "for excellence of drawing, harmony of colouring, and purity

* Stanley.

of design, they are justly considered unequalled. The skill with which the minute figures are represented cannot even at this day be surpassed^a. Remark especially the great value given to the brilliant colours by the profusion of white and neutral tints. The scrolls and borders surrounding the medallions are also of extreme beauty.

The three windows remaining in the aisles surrounding the Trinity Chapel are entirely devoted, as were all the rest, to the miracles of Becket, which commenced immediately on the death of the great martyr, to whom, as visions declared, a place had been assigned between the apostles and the martyrs, preceding even St. Stephen, who had been killed by aliens, whilst Thomas was killed by his own^b. The miracles represented in the medallions are of various characters. The *Lucerna Angliæ*, a true St. Thomas of *Kandelberg*, as the Germans called him, restores sight to the blind. Loss of smell is recovered at the shrine of this *Arbor Aromatica*. Frequently he assists sailors, the rude crews of the Cinque Ports in his own immediate neighbourhood. At the Norway fishing his figure came gliding over the seas in the dusk, and descended, burning like fire, to aid the imperilled ships of the Crusaders^c. In the window toward the east, on the north of the shrine, is represented a remarkable series of miracles, occurring

^a Stanley's Memorials, (third edition,) note by George Austen, Esq., p. 281.

^b Benedict, De Miraculis S. Thomæ Cantuar.

^c Benedict, Hoveden.

in the household of a knight named Jordan, son of Eisulf, whose son is restored to life by the water from St. Thomas's well, which, mixed with his blood, was always carried off by the pilgrims. The father vows an offering to the martyr before Mid-Lent. This is neglected; the whole household again suffer, and the son dies once more. The knight and his wife, both sick, drag themselves to Canterbury, perform their vow, and the son is finally restored*. On a medallion in one of the windows on the north side is a representation of Becket's shrine, with the martyr issuing from it in full pontificals, to say Mass at the altar. [Plate IX.] This vision Benedict says was seen by himself.

XXIX. Between the first two piers of Trinity Chapel, south, is the monument of EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE (died Trinity Sunday, June 8, 1376), [Plate X.], "the most authentic memorial remaining of the first of a long line of English heroes." He had already founded a chantry in the crypt, on the occasion of his marriage (1363) with the "Fair Maid of Kent;" and his will, dated June 7, the day before his death, contains minute directions for this monument and for his interment, which he orders to be in the crypt. For some unknown reason this order was disregarded, and he was buried above, his tomb being the first erected in what was then thought to be the most sacred spot in England. The effigy is in brass, and was once entirely gilt, like the cast from it, which may be seen at Sydenham. The Plantagenet

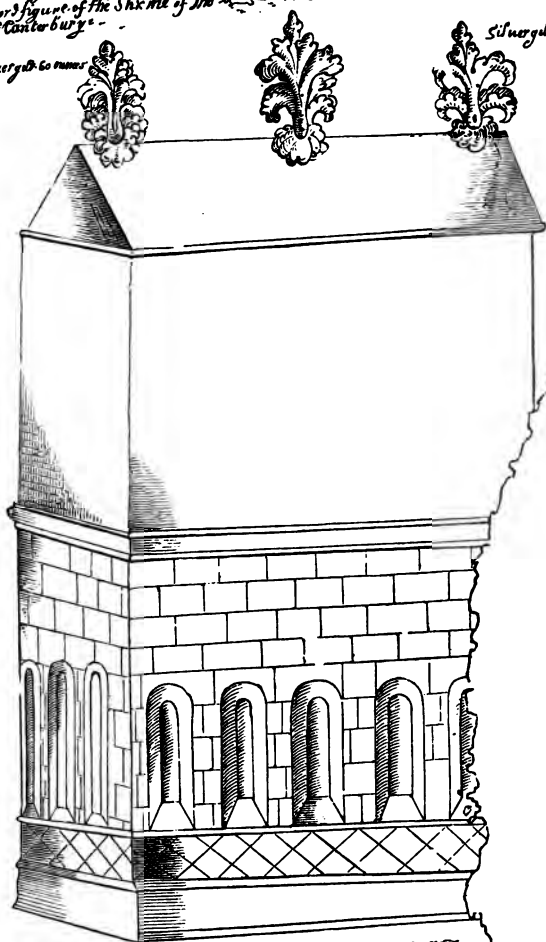
* Benedict.

† Stanley.

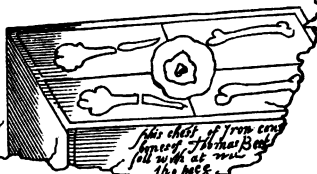
The forme and figure of the Shrine of the Becket of Canterbury

Silver gilt 60 ounces

Silver gilt 60 ounces

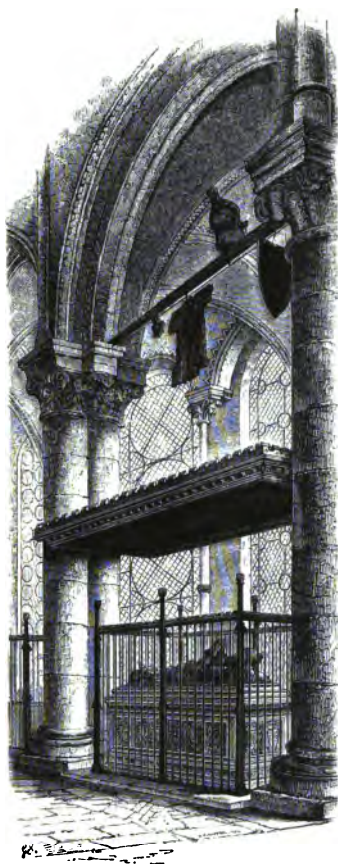


Item above the shrine was put of gold Jewels of gold & with stone wrought upon with gold most rich with jewels of gold as for 10, 12 together stamped with gold into the ground of gold the chief such as 5, or 8 men could not carry out of the church an Angel of gold pointing ther unto offered ther by a King of France into a King, and returned back to them



This chest of Iron was given by Thomas Becket full with at the year 1165

BECKET'S SHRINE; FROM THE COTTONIAN MS.



TOMB OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

features are traceable, "the flat cheeks and the well-chiselled nose, as in the effigy of his father at Westminster Abbey, and of his grandfather at Gloucester." Above are suspended the brass gauntlets; the "hearme du leopard,"—"that casque which never stooped except to time,"—lined with leather, "a proof of its being actually intended for use;" the shield of wood, covered with moulded leather; the velvet surcoat, with the arms of France and England; and the scabbard of the sword. The sword itself Cromwell is said to have carried away. These relics are all that now remain of two distinct achievements, composed of the actual accoutrements, "pur la guerre" and "pur la paix," which, according to the directions in the prince's will, had figured in his funeral procession². They all belonged to the accoutrement "pur la guerre," and no doubt formed portions of a suit actually worn by the great English hero. Round the tomb are escutcheons of arms, charged alternately with the bearings of France and England, quartered, the shield of war by which Edward had been distinguished in the battle-field, and with the ostrich feathers and the motto "Houmont Ich diene³,"

* The will enjoined that the funeral procession should pass through the west gate, and along the High-street toward the cathedral. Two chargers, with trappings of the prince's arms and badges, and two men accoutred in his panoply and wearing his helms, were to precede the corpse. The trappings and armour were to be, severally, those used by the Prince in peace and war.

³ These words, about which there is much difficulty, are probably German (Welsh antiquaries insist that the latter motto is Celtic), and "exactly express what was seen so often in the

the shield used by him in tournaments and "justes of peace." Above is the long inscription, composed by the Prince himself in Norman-French, and inserted in his will:—

"Tu qe passez ove bouche close, par la ou cest corps repose
 Entent ce qe te dirray, sicome te dire la say.
 Tiel come tu es, je autiel fu, tu seras tiel come je su,
 De la mort ne pensay je mie, tant come j'avoy la vie.
 En terre avoy grand richesce, dont je y fys grand noblesce,
 Terre, mesons, et grand tresor, draps, chivalx, argent et or.
 Mes ore su je povres et cheitifs, perfond en la terre gys,
 Ma grand beaute est tout alee, ma char est tout gastee,
 Moult est estreote ma meson, en moy na si verite non,
 Et si ore me veissez, je ne quide pas qe vous deisez
 Qe j'eusse onques hom este, si su je ore de tout changee.
 Pur Dieu pries au celestien Roy, qe mercy eit de l'arme de
 moy.
 Tout cil qe pur moi prieront, ou à Dieu m'acorderont,
 Dieu les mette en son parays, ou nul ne poet estre cheitifs."

On the canopy of the tomb is a representation of the Holy Trinity, revered with "peculiar devotion" by the Prince, and on whose feast he died. The absence of the dove between the figures of the eternal Father and of the Saviour on the Cross is remarkable; but the omission occurs in similar representations elsewhere. The whole design, with the emblems of the Evangelists at the angles, is very graceful, and should be noticed.

Prince's life, the union of 'Hoch muth,' that is, *high spirit*, with 'Ich dien,' *I serve*. They bring before us the very scene itself after the battle of Poitiers, where, after having vanquished the whole French nation, he stood behind the captive King, and served him like an attendant."—*Stanley*.

Round the canopy are hooks for the hangings bequeathed in the Prince's will,—black with red borders, embroidered with “cygnes avec têtes de dames.”

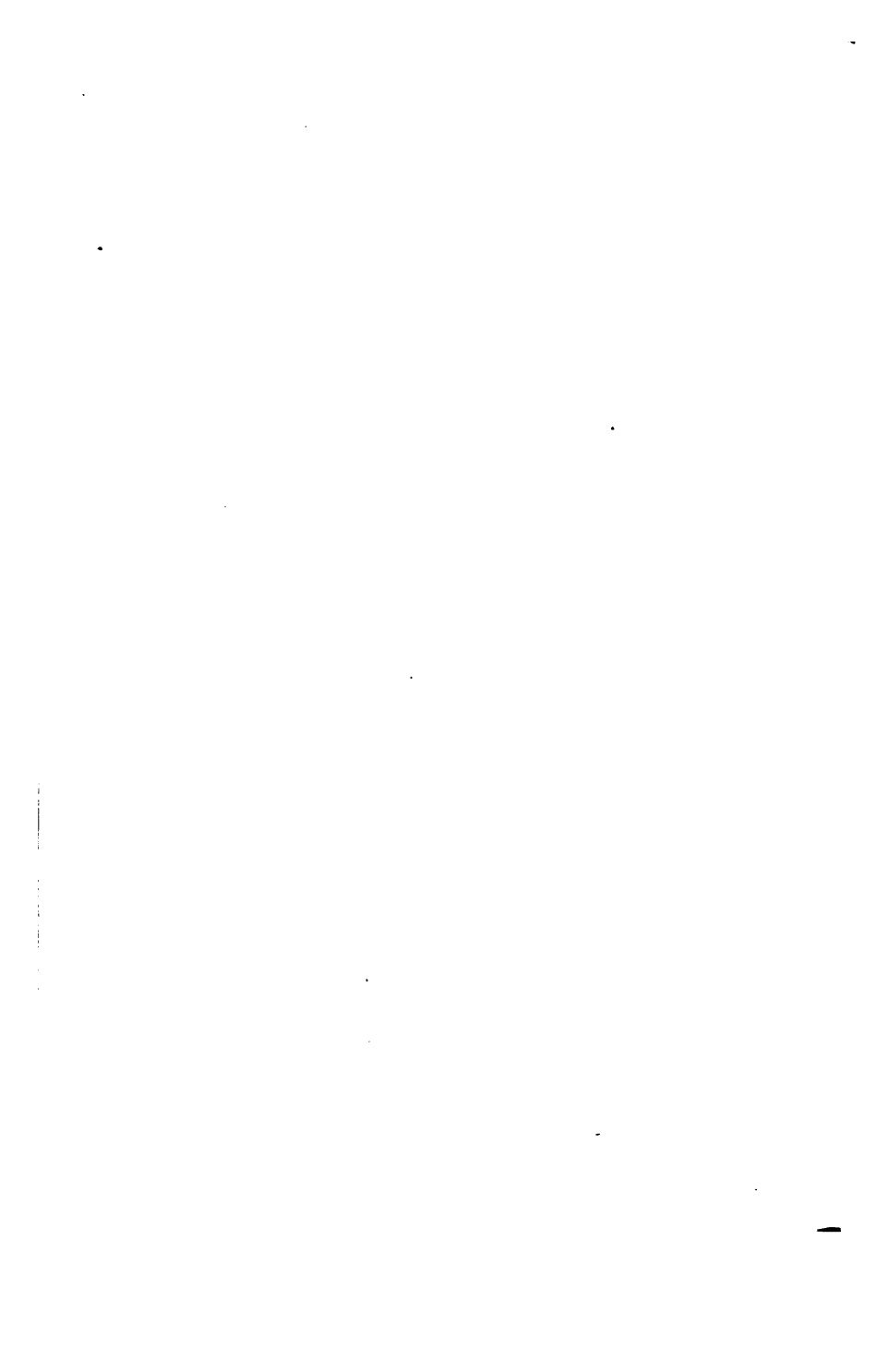
XXX. Immediately opposite, on the north side of the chapel, is the tomb of HENRY IV. (died 1413), and of his second wife, JOAN OF NAVARRE (died 1437). The King's will ordered that he should be buried “in the church at Canterbury,” (he had given much toward the building of the new nave,) and his body was accordingly brought by water to Faversham, thence by land to Canterbury; and on the Trinity Sunday after his death the funeral took place in the presence of Henry V. and all the “great nobility.” Joanna of Navarre died at Havering in 1437, and the monument is probably of her erection. The arms are those of England and France, Evreux and Navarre. The ground of the canopy is diapered with the word “soverayne” and eagles volant, the King's motto and device; and with ermines collared and chained, and the word “atemperance,” the Queen's. These are transposed, the ermines being above the King's effigy. It was asserted by the Yorkists that the King's body had been thrown into the sea, between Gravesend and Barking. There had been a great storm, and, after this Jonah offering, a calm. “Whether the King was a good man, God knows,” said Clement Maidstone's informant^b. The coffin was, however, brought to Canterbury and solemnly interred. In consequence of this story the tomb was opened in 1832, in the presence of the Dean of Canterbury. Two coffins were

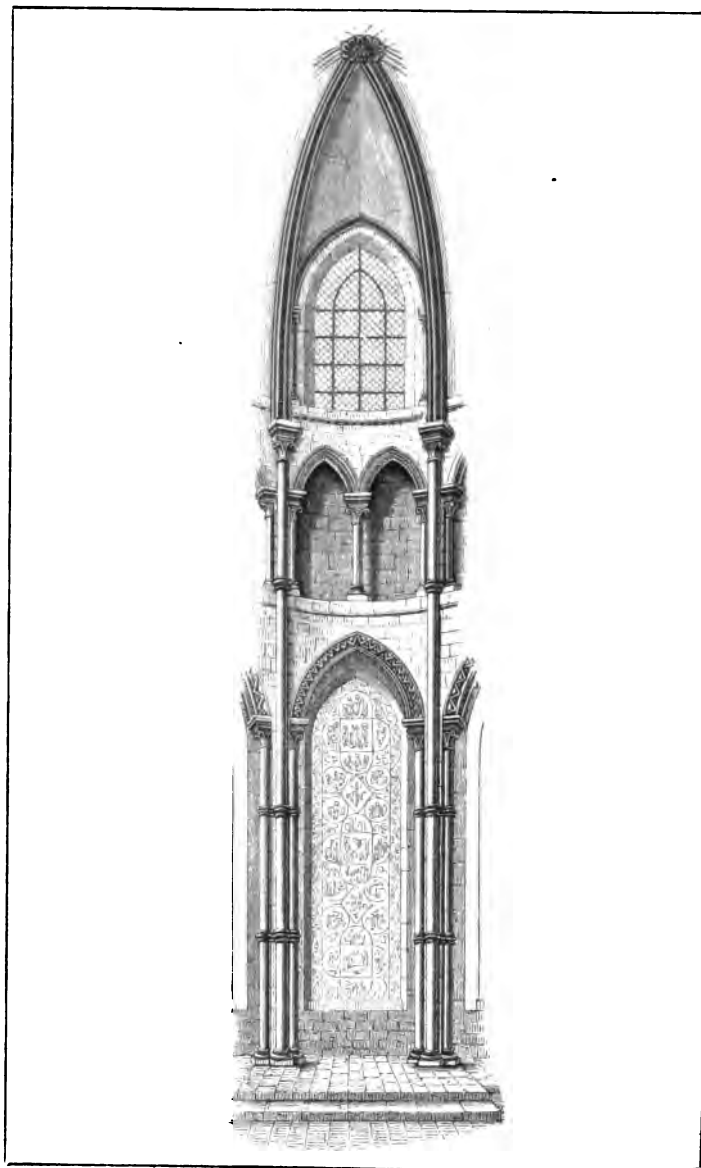
^b See the narrative in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, tom. ii.

found, but that of the King could not be removed without injury to the monument above. The upper part was, therefore, sawed through, and after removing a thick layer of hay, on the surface of which lay a rude cross of twigs, an inner case of lead was discovered, which being also sawed through, the lower half of the head of the body it contained was unwrapped from its foldings, "when, to the astonishment of all present, the face of the deceased King was seen in complete preservation; the nose elevated, the beard thick and matted, and of a deep russet colour, and the jaws perfect, with all the teeth in them, except one fore-tooth, which had probably been lost during the King's life." The King died at the age of forty-six. The whole was replaced after examination. The iron railings about this monument, and about that of the Black Prince, are apparently of the same age, and wrought by the same workman, as shewn by the ornamental details. This fact has led to a conjecture that the two tombs were placed simultaneously in the positions they now occupy, that of the Prince having possibly been removed here from the crypt (where his will directed it to be placed) when the memorial of Henry was erected.

Opening in the wall of the north aisle of the retro-choir, and immediately opposite his monument, is a small *chantry* founded by Henry IV., "of twey preistes for to sing and pray for my soul." The fan-vault is rich.

XXXI. At the feet of the Black Prince is the monument of Archbishop COURTENAY (1381—1396), the





ONE BAY OF THE CORONA.

severe opponent of the Wycliffites. There is, however, some uncertainty as to the real place of interment of this archbishop, who died at Maidstone, and whose will directs that he should be buried in the churchyard there. A slab in the pavement of All Saints' Church, Maidstone, from which the brasses have been removed, still shews by their matrices that it once contained the figure of an archbishop, and has accordingly been considered to mark the tomb of Courtenay. On the other hand, the leiger-book of Christ Church, Canterbury, directly asserts that he was buried in the cathedral, which is probably the fact. Why this most distinguished place was assigned to him does not appear. He was, however, executor to the Black Prince, and a great benefactor to the cathedral. Beyond his monument is that of Odo COLIGNY, Cardinal Chatillion, who, on account of his Huguenot tendencies, fled to England in 1568, and was favourably received by Elizabeth. He died at Canterbury on his way to France, poisoned by an apple given him by one of his servants.

East of the tomb of Henry IV. is a kneeling figure, by BERNINI, of Dean WOTTON, the first Dean of Canterbury after the foundation of the collegiate church by Henry VIII.

XXXII. The great lightness and beauty of the *Corona* [Plate XI.], the extreme east end of the cathedral, are remarkable. It is English William's work. When Archbishop Anselm was at Rome in the early part of his episcopate, and attending a council in the Lateran, a question arose as to his proper place, since no arch-

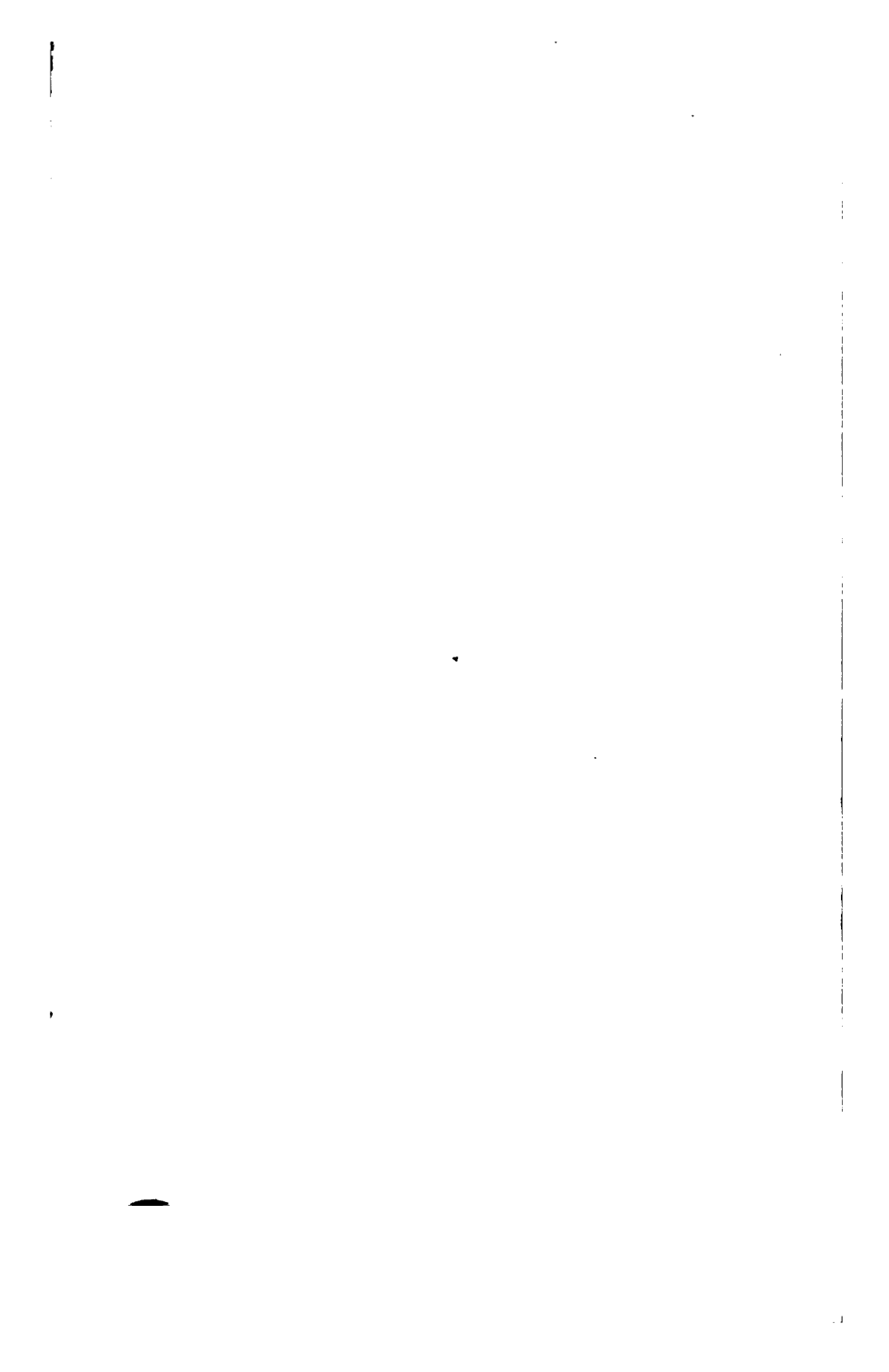
bishop of Canterbury had as yet been present at a Roman council. Pope Pascal II. decided it by assigning to the "*alterius orbis papa*" a seat in the "*corona*," the most honourable position^c. It is possible that this fact may have led the architects, on the rebuilding of the choir, to make the addition of an eastern apse, or corona, which did not exist in the earlier church. In it were the shrines of Archbishop Odo and Wilfrid of York, and a golden reliquary in the form of a head, containing some relic of Becket, perhaps the severed scalp. By a confusion of its proper name with this relic the eastern apse came to be generally known as "*Becket's crown*." On the north side is the tomb of Cardinal POLE, Queen Mary's archbishop (1556—1558), and the last archbishop buried at Canterbury. His royal blood gave him a title to so distinguished a place of sepulture.

XXXIII. Descending the *south aisle* of the retro-choir, the first tomb against the wall is an unknown one, in style rather later than the completion of the chapel itself. It is attributed to Archbishop THEOBALD (1139—1161), but without reason. Still passing west, down the pilgrim-worn steps, we come to *St. Anselm's tower and chapel*. [Plate XII.] The screen of the

^c "In *corona* sedes illi posita est, qui locus non obscuri honoris in tali conventu solet haberi."—*Eadmer*, Hist. Novor., ii. p. 92. See also the notice of Anselm in Part II. The words there quoted from William of Malmesbury (who attributes them to Pascal II.), "*Includamus hunc in orbe nostro*," evidently refer to this corona.



WINDOW IN ANSELM'S CHAPEL



chapel is formed by the tomb of Archbishop SIMON DE MEPHAM (1328—1333), "a beautiful and singular work, consisting of an altar-tomb placed between a double arcade." This archbishop was worried to death by Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, who resisted his visitation as metropolitan, and who encountered Mepham with a company of armed followers at the west door of Exeter Cathedral. "This affront did half break Mepham's heart," says Fuller, "and the Pope, siding with the Bishop against him, broke the other half thereof." He returned to Kent and died.

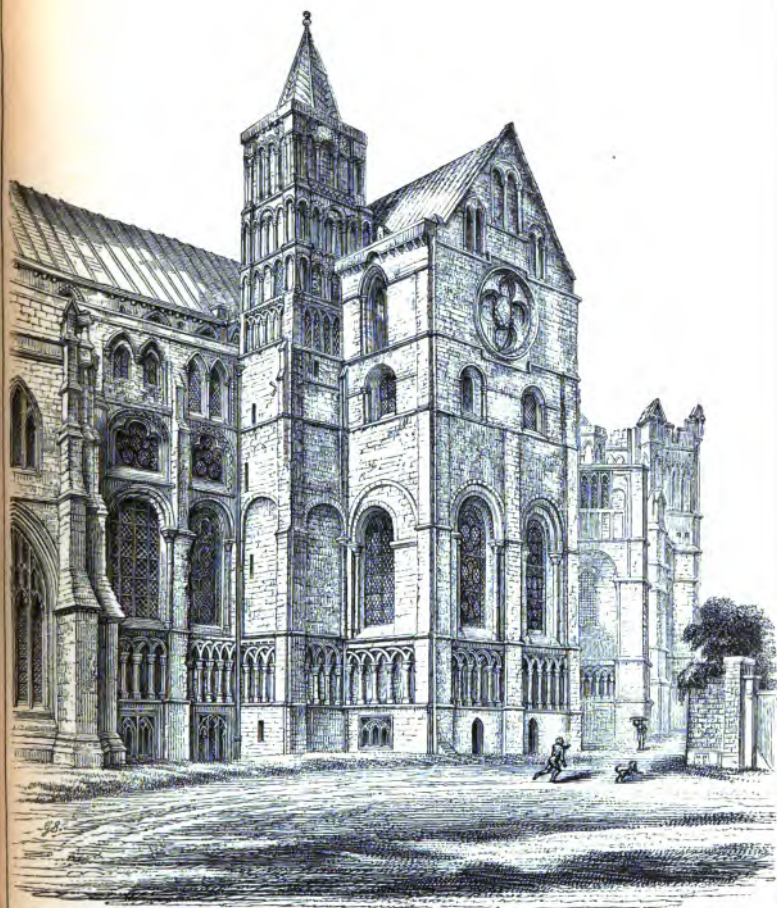
XXXIV. *Anselm's tower* is part of Prior Ernulf's work, like St. Andrew's opposite. The original south window was replaced by an elaborate Decorated one of five lights by Prior Henry de Estria in 1336. There were pendent bosses in the heads of the lights, like those of his choir-screen door, but these have disappeared. At the east end was the altar of SS. Peter and Paul, and behind it was buried ANSELM (1093—1109), of all the archbishops, with the exception of Becket, the most widely-renowned throughout Europe. (See Part II.)

Above the chapel is a small room, with a window looking into the cathedral, which served as the *watching-chamber*, in which a monk was nightly stationed to keep ward over the rich shrine of St. Thomas. "On the occasion of fires the shrine was additionally guarded by a troop of fierce ban-dogs." The watching-chamber is said, but without authority, to have been used as the prison of King John of France.

XXXV. West of Anselm's chapel, and on the choir side, is the tomb of SIMON DE SUDBURY (1375—1381), the archbishop who built the west gate of Canterbury and much of the city walls; who reproved the "superstitious" pilgrimages to St. Thomas, crowned Richard II., and was himself beheaded by the Kentish rebels under Wat Tyler. (See Part II.) "Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cere-cloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant place of the head^d." In commemoration of the benefits Sudbury bestowed on the town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb, to "pray for his soul." Next to this monument, west, is the canopied tomb of Archbishop STRATFORD (1333—1348), Edward the Third's Grand Justiciary during his absence in Flanders; and below is the tomb of Archbishop KEMP (1452—1454), surmounted "by a most curious double canopy or tester of woodwork."

XXXVI. The *south-east transept* [Plate XIII.], which we have now reached, has the same architectural character as the north; and displays William of Sens' work on Ernulf's walls, completed by English William. In the two apses were the altars of St. John and St. Gregory, with the tombs or shrines of four Saxon archbishops. Below the easternmost window in the south wall are some indications in the broken pillars of the tomb of Archbishop WINCHELSEA (1294—1313), whose contest with Edward I. touching clerical

^d Stanley.



SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT.



subsidies, and whose great almsgiving—2,000 loaves every Sunday and Thursday to the poor when corn was dear, and 3,000 when cheap—caused him to be regarded as a saint. Oblations were brought to his tomb, but the Pope would not consent to canonize him. (See Part II.) His monument is said to have been destroyed at the same time as Becket's shrine.

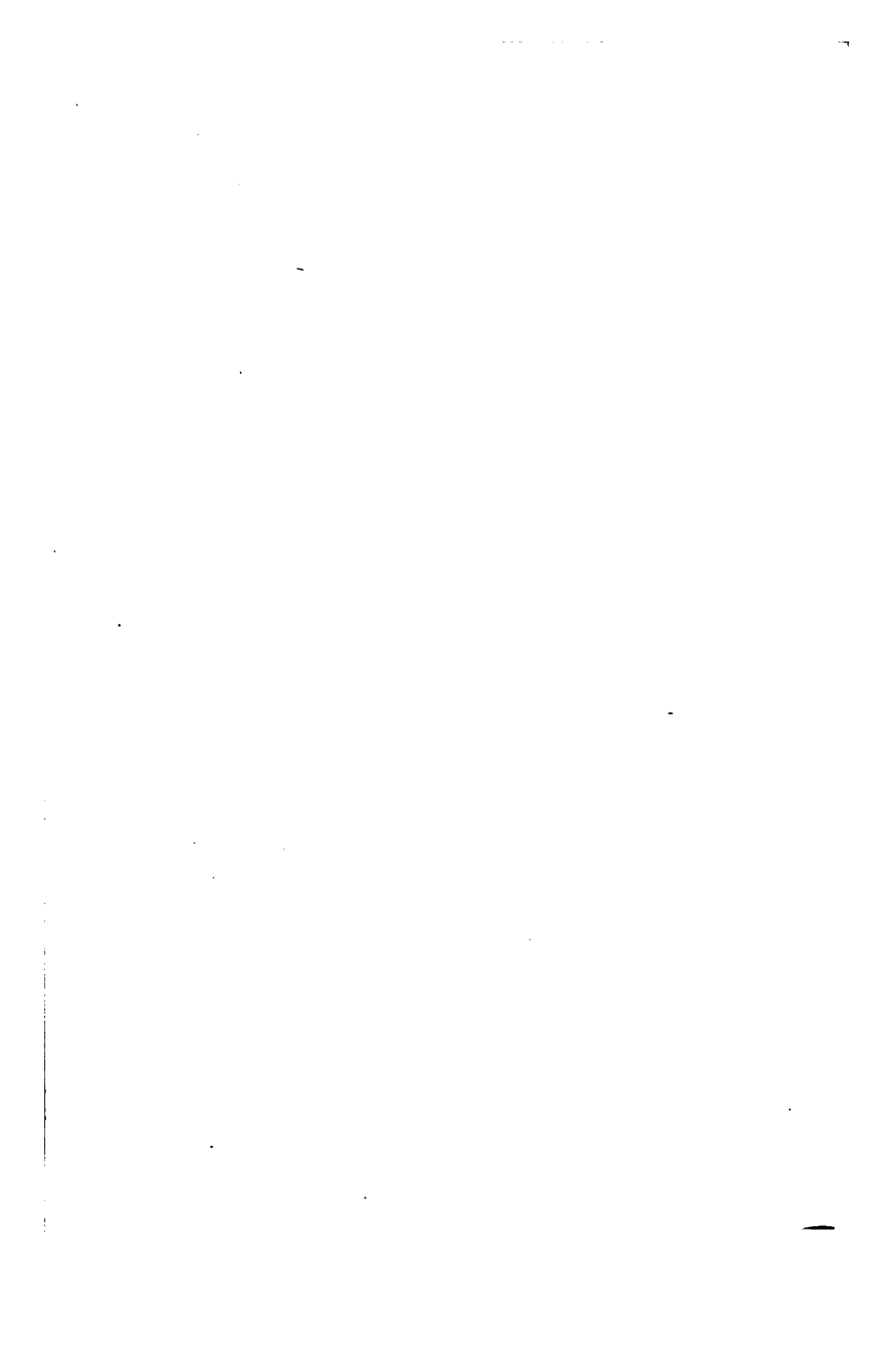
In this transept is now placed the *patriarchal chair* of Purbeck marble, called "St. Augustine's chair;" traditionally said to be that in which the pagan kings of Kent were enthroned, and which, presented by Ethelbert to Augustine, has ever since served as the metropolitical *cathedra* of Canterbury. It is certainly of high antiquity, but the old throne was of a single block—this is in three pieces—and Purbeck stone was (it is said) unused until long after the time of Augustine. In this venerable chair the archbishops are still enthroned, in person or by proxy.

XXXVII. West of the transept, against the south wall of the choir, is the mutilated effigy of Archbishop HUBERT WALTER (1193—1205), who having accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion and Archbishop Baldwin to the Holy Land, was, on the latter's death, chosen archbishop in the crusaders' camp at Acre. The paneling below the tomb is much later. Beyond is WALTER REYNOLDS (1313—1327), the courtier archbishop of Edward II., whom he deserted in his adversity.

XXXVIII. The steps leading down into the great south *transept* preserve the same arrangement as that of the opposite transept of the Martyrdom at the time

of Becket's murder. The transept itself is part of Chillenden's work. The stained glass of the south window should be noticed. In the pavement, close at the foot of the stairs descending from the tower, is the tombstone of MERIC CASAUBON, Archbishop Laud's prebendary (died 1671); adjoining is that of SHUCKFORD of the "Connection."

XXXIX. Opening east from this transept is *St. Michael's*, or the *Warrior's* chapel. The builder is unknown. It is Perpendicular, about 1370, with a "complex lierne vault." In it are "sundry fair monuments." The central one is that erected by Margaret Holland (died 1437) to the memory of her two husbands, JOHN BEAUFORT, Earl of Somerset, half-brother of Henry IV. (died 1409), *left*, and THOMAS OF CLARENCE, "qui fuit in bello clarus, nec clarior ullus," second son of Henry IV., killed by a lance-wound in the face at the battle of Baugé, 1421, *right*. At the east end, singularly placed, the head alone appearing through the wall, is the stone coffin of STEPHEN LANGTON (1207—1228), the great archbishop of John and Magna Charta, "whose work still remains among us in the familiar division of the Bible into chapters." Professor Willis suggests that the tomb was *outside* when the chapel was built, and that it was arched over by the constructors. The altar-slab must have covered the coffin, a position most unusual, unless for the remains of a distinguished saint. It was that chosen by Charles V. for himself at Yuste, where the church would only allow his wish to be carried out with considerable modification.

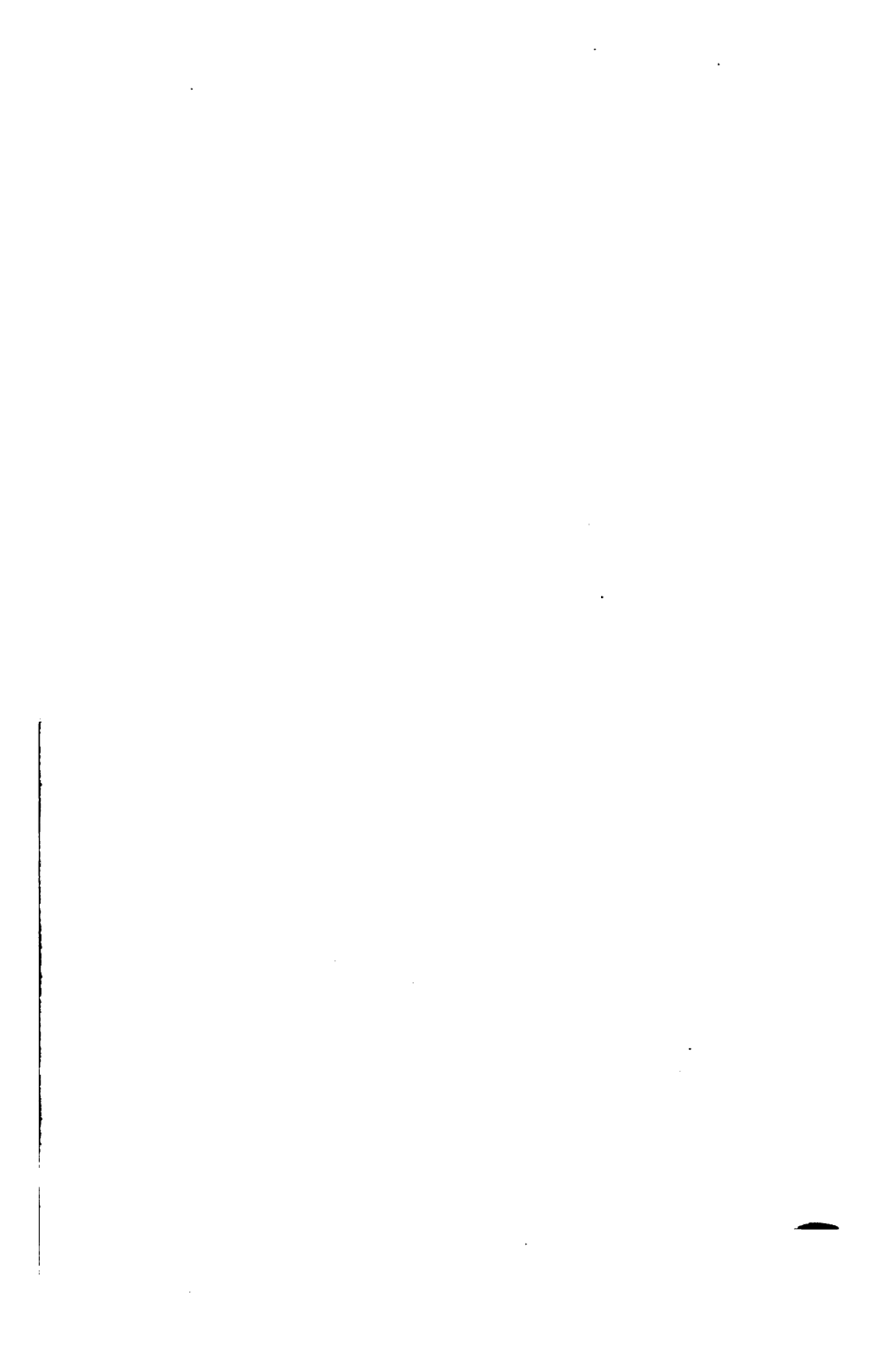




ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM'S MONUMENT.



THE CRYPT.



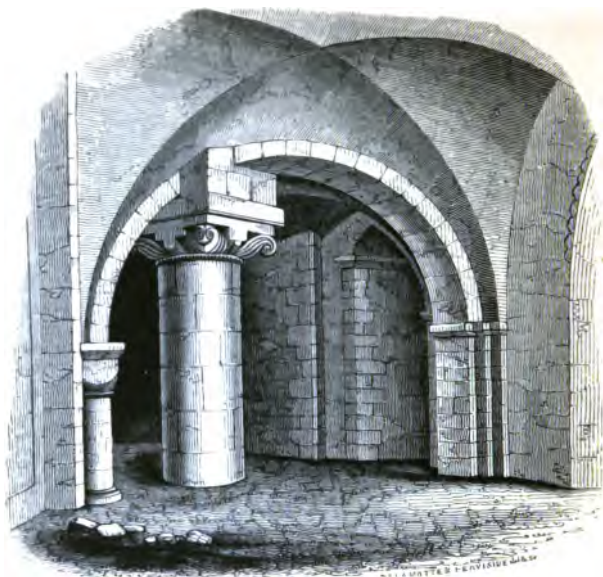


FIG. 1. ERNULF'S WORK.

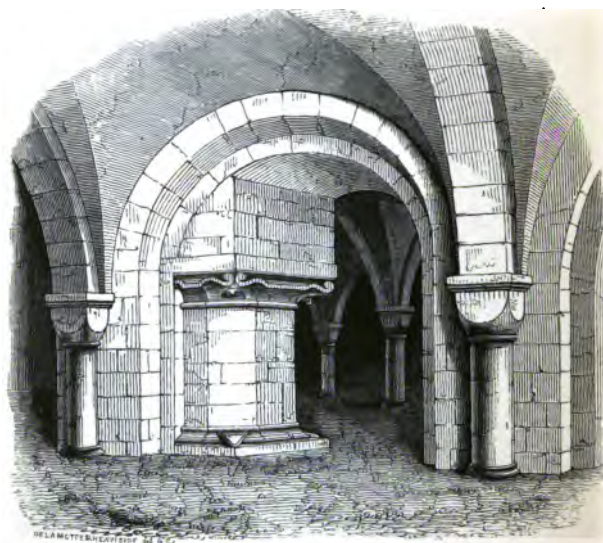
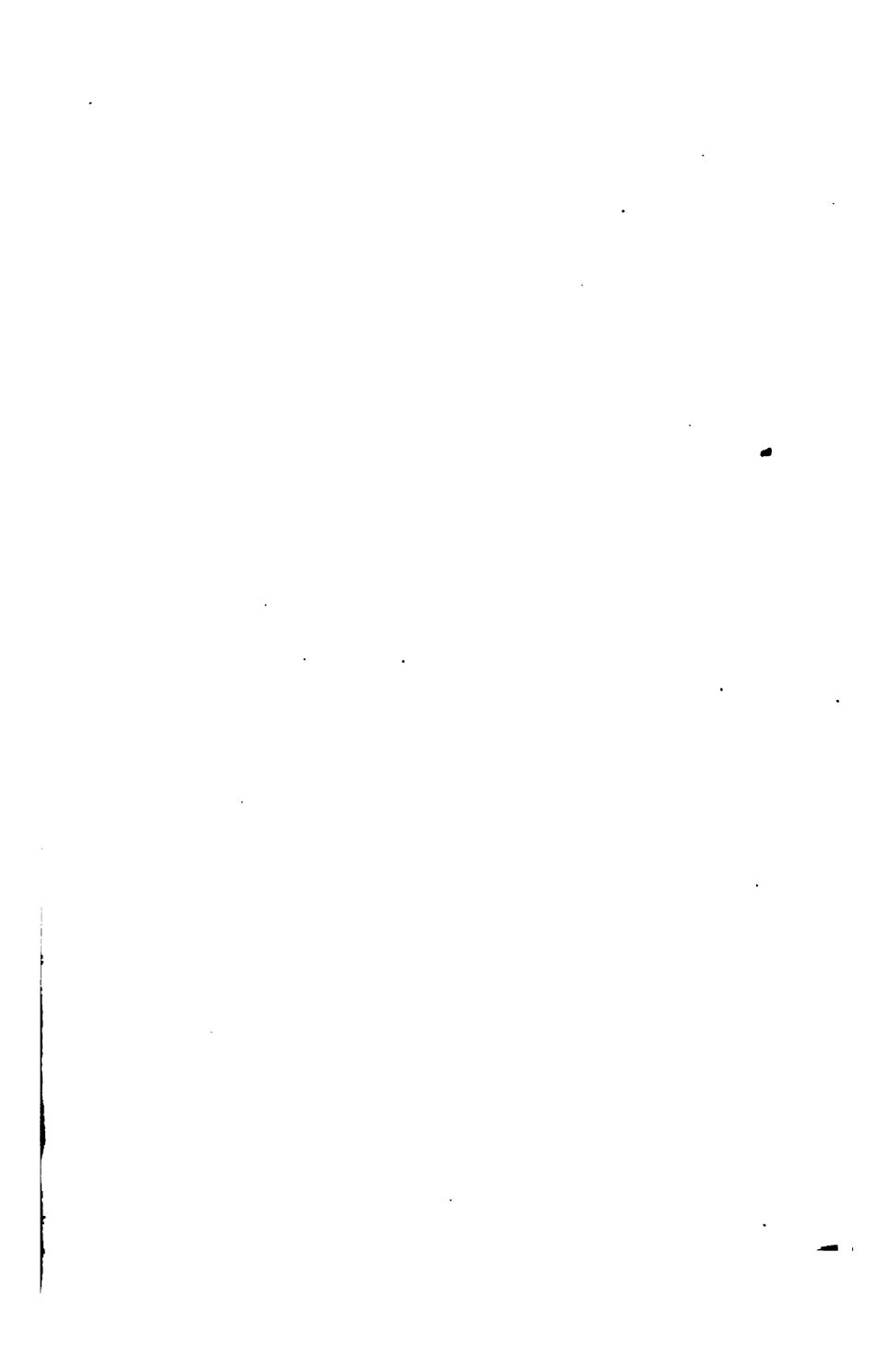
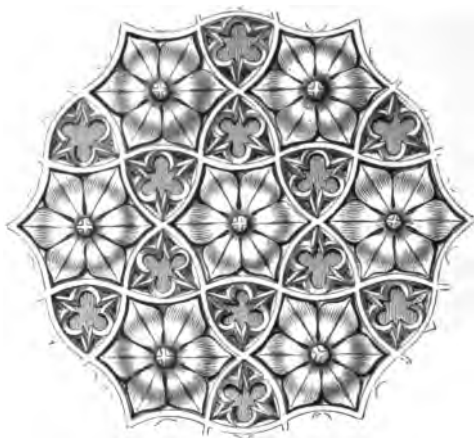


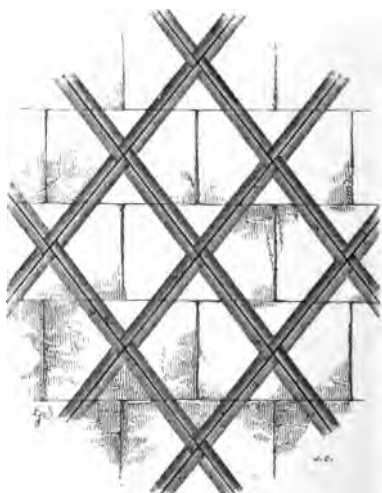
FIG. 2. WILLIAM OF SENS' WORK.

PIERS IN THE CRYPT.





DIAPER, SOUTH SIDE OF CHOIR.



DIAPER IN PASSAGE TO CRPYT.

But the memory of Archbishop Langton was greatly revered.

The remaining monuments are of much later date. The Lady THORNHURST's (died 1609) ruff and farthingale deserve notice. Her virtues, it would seem from her epitaph, were not less remarkable:—

“Si laudata Venus, Juno, si sacra Minerva,
Quis te collaudet, femina? Talis eris.”

XI. Passing through the gallery under the tower stairs, we return to the Martyrdom transept, and from it enter the *crypt*, or *undercroft*, the same that existed under the choir of Conrad. [Plates XIV., XV.] The walls near the transept are ornamented by a curious diaper [Plate XVI.], also found on a fragment of the chapter-house at Rochester, of which place Ernulf, who constructed this crypt, afterwards became bishop. The crypt of Canterbury is one of five English eastern crypts founded before 1085; the others are Winchester, Gloucester, Rochester, and Worcester. From this time they ceased to be constructed, except as a continuation of former ones*. The enrichments on the capitals of the columns are occasionally unfinished, proving that they were worked after being set in place. On one, at the south-west side, two sides of the block are plain; the third has the ornament roughed out; and the fourth is completely finished†. Some of the shafts, also, are rudely fluted, whilst others are untouched. In the roof are rings, each surrounded by

* Willis.

† See woodcut, p. 395.

a crown of thorns, from which lamps were suspended.

The whole crypt was dedicated to the Virgin; and toward the east end, is the *Chapel of our Lady Undercroft*, enclosed by late Perpendicular open stone-work. It was, says Erasmus, surrounded by a double rail of iron. "Quid metuit Virgo? nihil, opinor, nisi fures." In beauty this shrine exceeded that of Walsingham. Its wealth was indescribable. Only a very few "magnates" were permitted to see it. The niche over the altar for the figure still remains; the bracket has a carving of the Annunciation. In the centre of the pavement is the gravestone of the Cardinal Archbishop MORRON (1486—1500). Faithful throughout to Henry VI., he effected the union of the two Roses by the marriage of Henry of Richmond to Elizabeth of York. (See Part II.) His *monument* is at the south-west corner of the crypt, much defaced by Blue Dick. The *mort* or hawk on a *tun* is the Archbishop's rebus.

In the south screen of the Lady-chapel is the monument of Lady MORUN of Dunster (about 1395). A perpetual chantry was founded by her.

XLI. The whole of the crypt was given up by Elizabeth in 1561 to the French and Flemish refugees, "they whom the rod of Alva bruised," who fled to England—then, as now, the asylum of Europe—in great numbers. A company of clothiers and silk weavers ("gentle and profitable strangers," as Archbishop Parker called them) established themselves at Canterbury, where their numbers rapidly increased; they

were about five hundred in 1676. They had their own pastors and services, with which Archbishop Laud attempted to interfere, but his attention was directed elsewhere by the breaking out of the Scottish war. The main body of the crypt was occupied by their silk-loom, and the numerous French inscriptions on the roof are due to this congregation, which still continues to exist, although their silk trade has long since disappeared. The south side-aisle was separated for their place of worship, and in it they still regularly assemble. The long table is that at which they sit to receive the Sacrament.

Forming the entrance to the French Church, east, is the *chantry*, founded by the BLACK PRINCE on his marriage in 1363. On the vaulting are his arms, those of Edward III., and what seems to be the face of his wife, the "Fair Maid." For permission to found this chantry he left to the cathedral the manor of "Fauke's-hall" (Vauxhall), still the property of the Chapter. Still further east is *St. John's Chapel*, divided into two by a stone wall, the inner part being quite dark. On the roof are some interesting tempera paintings. Pugin conjectured with great probability that this dark chapel was a contrivance for hiding the principal treasures of the church in time of need. Beyond it is the tomb of ISABEL COUNTESS OF ATHOLE (died 1292), heiress of Chilham, near Canterbury.

XLII. The *eastern part of the crypt*, under Trinity Chapel and Becket's Crown, is the work of English William, and differs greatly from the sombre gloom of

Ernulf's building. "The work from its position and office is of a massive and bold character, but the unusual loftiness prevents it from assuming the character of a crypts." The windows have been recently opened, and its beauties made more apparent. The abaci of the piers are round, a peculiarity which distinguishes English William's work from that of William of Sens.

In the earlier crypt, which existed under Trinity Chapel before the rebuilding, and which, though not so lofty, must have resembled this in arrangement, Becket was laid in a marble sarcophagus the day after the murder. A wall was built about it, in each end of which were two windows, so that pilgrims might look in and kiss the tomb itself. It was covered with tapers, the offerings of pilgrims, and hung round with waxen legs and arms, and such votive memorials as may still be seen about great continental shrines^h. Here Becket remained until removed to the upper church in 1220; and in this earlier vault took place one of the most remarkable scenes of the Middle Ages,—the penance of Henry II.,—who, two years after the murder, when all seemed darkening round him, determined to make a further attempt at propitiating the saint. Living on bread and water from the time of his arrival at Southampton, he walked barefoot through Canterbury, from St. Dunstan's Church to the cathedral, where, after kneeling in the Martyrdom transept, he was led into the crypt. There, removing his cloak, and having placed his head within one of the openings of the tomb, he received five strokes

^s Willis.

^h Benedict, *De Miraculis*.

from the *balai* or monastic rod of each bishop and abbot who was present, and three from each of the eighty monks. He passed the whole night in the crypt, fasting, and resting against one of the pillars, and finally departed, fully absolved. That very day the Scottish King, William the Lion, was taken prisoner at Richmond; and connecting his capture with the power of the Martyr, he founded, on his return to Scotland, the Abbey of Aberbrothick, to the memory of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

XLIII. We may now return to the *exterior* of the cathedral. Of the two *western towers* that north is modern, and was finished in 1840 under the superintendence of the late G. Austin, Esq. In digging the foundations, skeletons of oxen are said to have been found at a very great depth. The soil is a deep gravel. The tower then taken down was Norman, and called the "Arundel Steeple," from a ring of five bells placed in it by that archbishop. The *south*, or *Dunstan* steeple, is the work of Archbishop CHICHELE (1413—1444) and Prior GOLDSTONE II. (1495—1517).

The great *central tower*, called "Bell Harry," from a small bell hung at the top of it, is entirely due to Prior Goldstone II. It replaced that called the "Angel Steeple," from the figure of a gilt angel crowning it, the first object that caught the eye of pilgrims advancing to Canterbury. The height of the present tower, one of the most beautiful examples of Perpendicular work existing, is 235 feet. [Plate XVII.] An excellent view of it may be obtained from the north-west angle

of the cloisters (see § L.), where it groups admirably with the surrounding objects, "being sufficient to give dignity to the whole, but without overpowering any¹."

The exterior arcades of the chapels, [Plate IV.], eastward, indicate the works of Ernulf and Anselm, already pointed out from within. The exterior of the corona at the extreme east end was never completed. It is now (1860) about to be finished under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott. The length of the entire cathedral, from the corona to the west front, is 522 feet.

XLIV. The *precincts* of the cathedral, it must be remembered, exhibit throughout traces of the great *Benedictine monastery* founded by Augustine and confirmed by Lanfranc. The early archbishops lived in common with the monks. Lanfranc's rule first gave them a *prior*, and the archbishops from this time were more separated, although they still continued the nominal heads of the convent, and the monks long insisted that the archbishop should always be a Benedictine. The priors, personages of great importance, had the right of wearing the mitre, and of carrying the episcopal staff.

XLV. The Norman doorway, now built into the precinct wall east of the choir, formerly admitted from the *exterior cemetery* to the *interior*, or the cemetery of the convent, into which two portions the south precincts, now occupied by canons' houses, were mainly divided. The part now called *The Oaks*, running south beyond the choir, was the monastery garden. Some-

¹ Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 851.

where here, too, was the ancient *school*, on the site of that founded by Archbishop Theodore for the study of Greek, and on which he bestowed many Greek books, including a copy of Homer, thus marking Canterbury as the earliest place of Greek study in England.

XLVI. A narrow flagged passage leading round the cathedral opens to the Priors' or Green Court. In this passage the first house, *left*, adjoining the archway, formed part of the *Honours*, or *Maister Honours*, a set of state chambers belonging to the prior, and used on occasions of special dignity. Pilgrims of high rank were lodged here. Beyond these, running west, was the *infirmary*, with its *church*, the arches of which may be traced in the walls of the houses, *left*. A door from the infirmary opened into the convent garden, conveniently for the sick monks.

XLVII. Somewhere on the north side of the choir was the famous *well of St. Thomas*, of which no trace is now visible. The dust and blood from the pavement, after the murder, are said to have been thrown into it. The spring changed four times into blood and once into milk, and constant miracles were wrought by the water. This marvel did not appear, however, until the fourteenth century, and is unknown by the earlier chroniclers. From its recorded effects it seems to have been slightly chalybeate, like the well of Zem-Zem at Mecca.

XLVIII. Beyond the infirmary is the *Dark Entry*, leading on one side into the cloisters, on the other into the Green Court. The passage has of late years been

uncovered, and the arches opened. The *Norman* portions of this entry seem to have been the work of Prior WIBERT (died 1167), who certainly built the curious bell-shaped tower in the garden without, adjoining the cloisters. This building (the *Castellum Aquæ*) formed part of a complicated system for supplying the monks with water, which was brought into it from the fields without at some distance, and distributed in pipes all over the monastery. It is now called the *Baptistery*, and the upper part contains the marble font given by Bishop Warner, and removed here from the cathedral nave. It is accessible from the south-eastern transept and from the chapter library.

XLIX. A staircase (on the *right* going towards the Green Court) leads to the *chapter library*. This was at first the prior's chapel, then the dean's, until it was applied to its present purpose. It contains a good collection of books, made accessible with great liberality. There is a case of Bibles and Prayer-books of very high interest. The most remarkable manuscript is the charter of EADRED (A.D. 949), giving the minster built at Reculver (the ancient *Regulbium*, and the place to which Ethelbert retired after the grant of his palace at Canterbury to Augustine), *cum tota villa*, to the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury. This charter is in all probability an autograph of Dunstan, *propriis digitorum articulis* of which famous archbishop it professes to be written. At the end of the room hangs an ancient painting on wood (perhaps *temp.* Richard II.), representing Queen Edgiva. The lines beneath commemorate her virtues,

and her gift to the convent of "Monkton and Minster, monkes to feede."

L. Again descending, we enter the *cloisters*, generally visited, however, from the transept of the Martyrdom. They are late Perpendicular, but here and there shew Norman portions, indicating that the ancient site is preserved. A door, still existing on the west side, opened to the archbishop's palace, and marks the position of that through which Becket passed on his way to the cathedral. The use of the circular opening at the side is uncertain. (Remark the very fine view of the central tower, chapter-house, &c., gained from this point: see § XLIII.) The arched door on the north side of the cloister—where are still traces of a laver with a double cistern, for the ablution of the monks—led into the refectory. The cloister windows were glazed, and the walls painted with "carols" and texts by Prior SELLING (died 1494). The shields on the roof are those of benefactors. The central space is said, but most improbably, to have served for the herb-garden of the convent.

On the east side is the *chapter-house*, the work of Archbishop ARUNDEL (1472—1492). Its roof, of Irish oak, is very rich and curious. At the upper end are seats for the prior and great officers. The stone bench round the walls was for the monks. The scourging of Henry II., which is often said to have taken place here, was really inflicted in the crypt: (see § XLII.) After the Reformation the chapter-house was used for preaching, and thence acquired the name of "the Sermon-

house." Traces may still be seen of the arrangements for galleries.

LI. Returning through the Dark Entry, we may enter the *Prior's* or *Green Court*, formerly surrounded by the principal domestic buildings of the monastery.

The arch and ruins adjoining the entry were portions of *La Gloriette*, the prior's ordinary apartments, built by Prior Hathbrande about 1370. The present *deanery* (on the east side of the court) was also comprised in the prior's lodgings, and contained the great stone hall called *Mensa Magistri*. In the deanery are portraits of the deans, beginning with that of Dr. Wotton, the first after the dissolution.

The ruins now remaining on the *south* side are mainly those of the dormitory and connected buildings. The refectory or 'fraternity' was here, with kitchens and cellarers' lodgings attached.

On the *west* side is the *porter's gate*, the most ancient gate of the monastery now remaining, through which provisions and necessities of all kinds were brought in. Its late Norman ornamentation is curious.

LII. The *Norman staircase* [Plate XVIII.] leading up to the hall of the Grammar-school is the only construction of the sort known to be in existence. The work is late Norman, although the pillars resemble those with plain capitals in the crypt. The hall above was rebuilt in 1855. [Plate XIX. See Plate V.] It takes the place of that called the north, or "Hog-hall," not, "as some say, from the dressing of hogs in the undercroft of it," but from its size and height (*hoga*,



NORMAN STAIRCASE.



NORMAN STAIRCASE. INTERIOR, LOOKING OUTWARDS.

hook). It seems to have anciently served for the stewards of the monastery courts.

LIII. In the court which is entered through the arches under the hall was the *almonry* of the priory. At the dissolution, Henry VIII. retained these buildings in his own hands, and converted some portions of them into a mint. In the remainder he established the *King's*, or *Grammar-school*, for fifty scholars. It maintains a very high reputation. Among its distinguished scholars were Marlowe the dramatist, a native of Canterbury, and Lord Chief Justice Tenterden, who declared that "to the free school of Canterbury he owed, under the Divine blessing, the first and best means of his elevation in life."

LIV. We pass out of the precincts by the porter's gate into Palace-street, where an arched doorway is nearly all that now remains of the *archbishop's palace*. The ruined Saxon palace here was rebuilt by Lanfranc. In the Norman building the scenes took place between Becket and the knights before he entered the cathedral. The great hall, famous for its entertainments, was begun by Archbishop Hubert Walter, and finished by Stephen Langton. On the marriage of Edward I. with Margaret of France there were four days of feasting here. In 1514 Warham entertained Charles V., Queen Joanna of Arragon, Henry VIII., and Queen Catherine, on which occasion there was a "solemne dauncing" in the great hall. In 1573 Parker feasted Queen Elizabeth here; but the greatest festivities recorded took place at the enthronization of Warham in 1503. The

high steward of the archbishop had the right, after the enthronization, of stopping with his train for three days at one of the archbishop's nearest manors, to be bled, "ad minuendam sanguinem," a proof of the consequences expected to result from the vast outpourings of yppocrasse and clary usual on such occasions. The palace was pillaged and fell into a ruinous state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

LV. A remarkable view of the cathedral may be gained from the mound in the Dane John, where it is seen above thick masses of trees. The best *distant* views of the city and cathedral will be obtained from Harbledown, one mile west [Frontispiece],—the tourist should walk through the churchyard of Harbledown, across the fields to St. Thomas's-hill,—and from the hill behind St. Martin's church, where the great cathedral appears rising from the centre of "the first English Christian city," with St. Augustine's College, the modern successor of the monastery established by the apostle of England, nestling close below. "From the Christianity here established has flowed by direct consequence—first, the Christianity of Germany; then, after a long interval, of North America; and lastly, we may trust in time, of all India and all Australasia. The view from St. Martin's-hill is indeed one of the most inspiring that can be found in the world: there is none to which I would more willingly take any one who

doubted whether a small beginning could lead to a great and lasting good; none which carries us more vividly back into the past, or more hopefully forward to the future *."

* Stanley.



Pillar in Crypt,

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Archbishops.

THAT Christianity was introduced and widely accepted throughout Roman Britain during the second and third centuries, may be regarded as certain, although we must consent to remain in ignorance of the exact time and manner of its introduction. "The depth of her (Britain's) Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and in heretics. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervour of those Christian feelings, which wrought so powerfully on the Christianity of the age, in her native Britain. St. Alban, from his name and from his martyrdom, which there seems no reason to doubt, was probably a Roman soldier. Our legendary annals are full of other holy names; while Pelagius, and probably his companion Celestine, have given a less favourable celebrity to the British Church*."

But as Teutonic settlers gradually took possession of the southern and eastern coasts of Britain, the ancient Christianity of the island retreated before them, until the only resting-places left to it were the mountains of Wales, those of the Scottish border, and the numerous monasteries of Ireland, then peaceful and flourishing. Saxons, Jutes, and Angles brought with them their own heathen creeds and

* Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii. 55.

traditions; and the Christian churches which they found in the districts of which they took possession were either destroyed or converted into temples of Thor and Woden. For nearly a century and a-half (between 449, when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, Hengist and Horsa landed in Thanet, and 597, the year of Augustine's arrival) the Saxons in England remained entirely pagan.

[A.D. 597—May 26, 604.] The story of the arrival of AUGUSTINE, Prior of the Benedictine Convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian hill, who brought with him forty monks as his companions and assistants, will best be read in the very interesting pages of Dr. Stanley^b. The way had been prepared for his labours by the marriage of Ethelbert the Æscing, King of Kent, with the Christian princess Bertha, a daughter of the royal house of Clovis. The baptism of Ethelbert took place on the 2nd of June, in the year 597; and so rapidly did the conversion of the whole district follow, that on Christmas-day in the same year 10,000 Saxons were baptized in the waters of the Swale, at the mouth of the Medway. Soon after the baptism of Ethelbert, Augustine revisited France in order to receive episcopal consecration; which he did (Nov. 17, 597) from the hands of Ætherius, Archbishop of Arles. On his return to Kent he sent Lawrence and Peter, two of his companions, to Rome, in order to report the success of the mission to Pope Gregory. They brought back with them to England the archiepiscopal pall, which confirmed Augustine in his position as first metropolitan of the English Church. A second body of monks also accompanied them.

At the same time Gregory sent to Augustine his plan for the ecclesiastical division of the entire island. There were to be two archbishops, one (after Augustine's death, who was to remain at Canterbury) at London, and one at

^b Historical Memorials of Canterbury — "The Landing of Augustine."

York. Under each there were to be twelve bishops. The precedence of the archbishops was to be determined by priority of consecration. This arrangement, however, which was of course only to be carried out as each province became Christianized, was never completely effected. The primacy was never permanently removed from Canterbury; and the archbishops of York, after some struggles, finally yielded all pretensions to even an occasional precedence*.

St. Martin's, the Christian church in which Queen Bertha had worshipped before the coming of Augustine, and Ethelbert's heathen temple, both outside the walls of Canterbury, were the first grants of the King to his new teachers. On the site of the latter Augustine founded the church of St. Pancras, and afterwards the abbey dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, but generally known by the name of its founder. After his recognition as Archbishop he received from Ethelbert the royal palace in Canterbury, and an ancient church—British or Roman—which closely adjoined it. This church, which was traditionally said to have been built by Lucius, the shadowy British king whose conversion seems to be an entire fable, occupied part of the site of the present cathedral. It was restored by Archbishop Odo (942—959), and finally perished by fire in the year 1067.

* See Gregory's letter in Bede, H. E., i. 29. "The formation of the English sees was very gradual, and the completion of the number of twenty-four did not take place till the reign of Henry VIII. But it is curious that this should have been precisely the same number fixed in Gregory's instructions to Augustine; and at any rate, the great size of the dioceses was in conformity with his suggestions. Britain was to him almost an unknown island. Probably he thought it might be about the size of Sicily or Sardinia, the only large islands he had ever seen, and that twenty-four bishoprics would be sufficient. At any rate, so he divided, and so, with the variation of giving only four, instead of twelve, to the province of York, it was consciously or unconsciously followed out in after times."—*Stanley, Landing of St. Augustine.*

The vain attempt of Augustine to bring under his supremacy, as metropolitan, the British Christians of Wales and its borders, who steadily maintained their traditions derived through the Greek Church, "which it is curious to find thus, at the verge of the Roman world, maintaining some of its usages and co-equality^d," need not be dwelt on here. He seems to have visited and preached in Dorsetshire; and shortly before his death, two new bishoprics, the commencement of Gregory's plan, were established, still under Ethelbert's protection, at Rochester and at London. (See those Cathedrals.) Augustine died on the 26th of May, 605, and was interred, according to the old Roman fashion, by the side of the road which led from Canterbury toward the coast, and along which he and his companions had advanced on their first arrival. Eight years afterwards, on the completion of the abbey church of St. Peter and St. Paul, his remains were removed from their first resting-place, and deposited in the north transept.

[A.D. 604—619.] Before his death, Augustine had himself consecrated LAWRENCE, one of his original companions, as his successor; "an unusual and almost unprecedented step, but one which it was thought the unsettled state of the newly-converted country demanded^e." The death of Ethelbert occurred in 616, and his son Eadbald, who succeeded him, relapsed into paganism, and drew with him the mass of the people, a change to which the newly-converted countries were perpetually subject. At the same time, Mellitus, Bishop of London, was expelled by the East Saxons; and the three bishops, Mellitus, Justus of Rochester, and Lawrence, determined to withdraw altogether from a country in which their labours now seemed hopeless. Mellitus and Justus crossed to France accordingly; but Lawrence resolved to make a last attempt at the conversion of Eadbald, and succeeded by means of the well-known stratagem, exhibiting to the awe-struck King the marks of

^d Milman.

^e Stanley.

the stripes which, as he averred, St. Peter himself had inflicted as a punishment for his cowardice in abandoning his see. Lawrence recalled Mellitus and Justus, the latter of whom returned to Rochester; but the men of Essex would not receive Mellitus, who, on the death of Lawrence in 619, succeeded him at Canterbury.

[A.D. 619—624.] MELLITUS had been one of the second company, which came to Britain with Lawrence and Peter. He was the first Bishop of London. Nothing is recorded of him after he became archbishop.

[A.D. 624—627.] JUSTUS, the first Bishop of Rochester, one of the same company, succeeded.

[A.D. 627—653.] HONORIUS, who may possibly have been one of the original companions of Augustine, was consecrated by Paulinus, first Archbishop of York, at Lincoln; in the "church of stone" which Paulinus had built there after the conversion of Blæcca, 'præfect' of the city. On the death of Honorius, the see, from some unexplained cause, remained vacant for eighteen months.

[A.D. 655—664.] DEUS DEDIT¹, the first Saxon archbishop, whose name before his consecration was Frithona, was consecrated by Ithamar of Rochester, himself a Saxon, and the first native bishop of the English Church.

For four years after the death of Deus Dedit the see of Canterbury remained vacant. A great plague was desolating the whole of Europe; and Wighard, a native Saxon, who had been despatched to Rome for consecration, was cut off by it, together with all his followers. For some time the care of the province was entrusted to Wilfrid of York, but in 668 Pope Vitalian consecrated archbishop and despatched to England

¹ There had been a Pope named Deus Dedit (A.D. 615—618). The name belongs to a class much affected by the African prelates, among whom the Bishops "Quod Vult Deus" and "Deo Gratias" occur. In their use of Scriptural names they "anticipated our Puritans." See Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vol. i. p. 190.

[A.D. 668—690.] THEODORE, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and thus a fellow-townsmen of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The archbishopric had at first been offered to Hadrian, an Italian abbot, who could not be prevailed upon to accept it, but who accompanied Theodore to England, and became abbot of St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury. "Vitalian's nomination awoke no jealousy, but profound gratitude. It was not the appointment of a splendid and powerful primate to a great and wealthy Church, but a successor to the missionary Augustine. But Theodorus, if he brought not ambition, brought the Roman love of order and organization, to the yet wild and divided island; and the profound peace which prevailed might tempt him to reduce the more than octarchy of independent bishops into one harmonious community. As yet there were Churches in England; not one Church." All the Saxon kingdoms, with the exception of Sussex, that of the South Saxons, had by this time, nominally at least, embraced Christianity; and each had received its Christian bishop. The great object of Theodore seems to have been the effectual extension of his authority, as metropolitan, over the whole island, which he traversed soon after his arrival, establishing everywhere the discipline of the Latin Church, and especially regulating the due observance of Easter. Throughout England also he introduced the Gregorian system of chanting, which had hitherto been practised in Kent alone. He summoned a council at Hertford, "which enacted many laws for the regulation of the power of the bishops, the rights of monasteries, on keeping of Easter, on divorces, and unlawful marriages;" and then, after dividing the great bishoprics in East Anglia and Mercia, and deposing two refractory bishops, he proceeded "on his sole spiritual authority, with the temporal aid of the King, to divide the bishopric of York into three sees." This arrangement was disputed by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who appealed to Rome, and

s. Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, ii. 83.

to whom Archbishop Theodore himself, on his death-bed, confessed that he had acted unjustly. Theodore, the "philosopher," as he is called in the letter of Pope Agatho to the general council assembled at Constantinople (A.D. 680), is to be regarded as the first teacher of Greek learning in England. He established a Greek school at Canterbury; and among the books which he brought to his remote diocese was a complete copy of Homer. Bede asserts that pupils of Theodore and Hadrian existed in his day, who understood both Greek and Latin as well as their native Saxon.

Archbishop Theodore, like his predecessor, was interred in St. Augustine's Abbey; where the following lines were preserved, recording the virtues of the first seven primates:—

"Septem sunt Angli primates, et proto-patres.
 Septem rectores, septem casloque triones;
 Septem cisternæ vitæ, septemque lucernæ
 Et septem palmæ regni, septemque coronæ.
 Septem sunt stellæ, quas hæc tenet area cellæ."

For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 693—731.] BRITHWALD, or BERCHT WALD, a monk of Glastonbury, and afterwards Abbot of Reculver, was then appointed. He is generally said to have been the first native archbishop, but this distinction really belonged to Deus dedit. By the time of Brithwald's death, however, the Saxon Church had become securely established, and the see was henceforth filled by a succession of natives. Sussex, the last pagan kingdom, had been converted, and received its bishop about the year 680; and the end of Brithwald's archiepiscopate may be considered as marking the termination of the first period of the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

[A.D. 731—734.] TATWIN; and

[A.D. 735—740.] NOTHELM, need only be mentioned.

[A.D. 740—758.] CUTHBERT, of a noble family, was trans-

lated from Hereford, one of the Mercian bishoprics. A synod was convened by him at Cliff, near Rochester, for the general reformation of manners, as well of the laity as of priests and bishops; who read but little, taught less, and frequently were in arms one against another. By a decree of this synod the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were both ordered to be universally taught in English. Archbishop Cuthbert obtained the papal permission for interments within the walls of cities, hitherto forbidden, and was himself the first archbishop interred in his own cathedral. All his predecessors had been buried in the monastery of St. Augustine, outside the walls of Canterbury.

[A.D. 759—765.] BREGWIN, a noble German Saxon, had come to England when a boy for education.

[A.D. 766—790.] JAENBERT, Abbot of St. Augustine's, was consecrated at Rome by Pope Paul I. During his archiepiscopate, Offa of Mercia, the most powerful of the English kings, who thought, in Fuller's words, "that the brightest mitre should attend the biggest crown^b," obtained a bull from Adrian I., authorizing the erection of Lichfield into a distinct archbishopric, and assigning to it six suffragan sees; thus leaving to Canterbury only four,—London, Winchester, Rochester, and Sherborne. Aldulf was accordingly consecrated first and last Archbishop of Lichfield; for in spite of the "commodious situation" of Lichfield, nearly in the centre of England, the local feelings and traditions which clung to the "remote corner" of Kent soon reasserted themselves; and after the death of Jaenbert, Aldulf, and Offa, the primacy was restored to Canterbury as before. It is uncertain how far Archbishop Jaenbert had himself consented to the first alteration.

[A.D. 793—805.] ATHELARD, elected in 790, was not consecrated until 793. He was translated from Winchester. He procured the restoration of the primacy from Kenulph of Mercia and Pope Leo III. The Northmen are said

^b Church Hist., bk. ii. cent. 8.

(but questionably) to have first appeared on the coasts of England during his archiepiscopate.

[A.D. 805—832.] WULFRED.

[A.D. April—September, 832.] FEOLGILD.

[A.D. 833—870.] CEOLNOTH.

[A.D. 870—889.] ETHELRED. The great ravages of the Northmen occurred during the lives of Ceolnoth and Ethelred, of whom little or nothing is recorded.

[A.D. 890—914.] PLEGMUND, one of the most learned men of his time, had lived for some years a solitary life on an island in the midst of the marshes of Mercia, when he was summoned thence to become one of the instructors of the youthful Alfred, at whose instance he was afterwards elected archbishop. The see had been vacant for two years when Plegmund was consecrated at Rome by Pope Formosus. During his archiepiscopate the bishopric of Wells for Somerset, and that of Crediton for Devonshire, were established (see WELLS and EXETER); and the Archbishop is said to have consecrated seven bishops in one day, some of whose sees had been so long vacant, owing probably to the Danish ravages, that the Pope had threatened, unless they were at once filled, to excommunicate the King (Edward the Elder), and to lay the whole country under an interdict.

[A.D. 914—923.] ATHELM.

[A.D. 923—942.] WULFHELM.

[A.D. 942—959.] ODO "the Severe"—the archbishop who, in conjunction with Dunstan, set himself to the "reformation" of the clergy and monks throughout England—succeeded. He was born in East Anglia, a Dane, and a pagan; but having been received for some time into the family of a noble Saxon, was baptized, and speedily took holy orders. Athelstane appointed him to the Wiltshire bishopric; and both before and after his consecration he is said to have done excellent service in battle against the Northmen. "In him the conquering Dane and stern warrior mingled

with the imperious Churchman¹." By Edmund, brother and successor of Athelstane, Odo was made archbishop; and he upheld the dignity of the primacy as probably none of his predecessors had done, throughout the reigns of Edmund, Edred, and Edwy². It was at his order that Dunstan enacted the well-known scene on the day of Edwy's coronation, though how far either Odo or Dunstan had sanctioned the atrocious cruelty with which Elgifa was subsequently treated is perhaps uncertain. Odo's great object, like that of his successor Dunstan, was the assertion of the Church's supremacy, and the "reformation" of the married clergy. At Canterbury he "reconstructed" and enlarged the cathedral—the old church of St. Augustine (see Pt. I. § 1.), and removed to it from Ripon the body of St. Wilfrid.

On the death of Odo, Elsi, Bishop of Winchester, was nominated to the primacy; but died of cold in crossing the Alps on his way to Rome to receive his pall.

[A.D. 960—988.] DUNSTAN, the famous Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of London, was then elected. "Dunstan's life was a crusade, a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade, against the married clergy, which in truth comprehended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand. Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the work of Hildebrand in the spirit not of a rival sovereign but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the royal power under his feet. The scene at the coronation of King Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a more barbarous

¹ Milman.

² Among the constitutions of Archbishop Odo was the emphatic one, "*Ammonemus regem, et principes, et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magna reverentia archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis episcopis obediant.*"

race, might seem to prepare mankind for the humiliation of the Emperor Henry at Canosa¹."

Dunstan was born in Somersetshire, of noble parents^m, and was educated in the abbey of Glastonburyⁿ. Thence he passed into the household of King Athelstane, and afterwards into that of Elfege, Bishop of Winchester, who after some time persuaded him, though not without a long mental struggle, to take the monastic vows. He accordingly became a monk at Glastonbury, the great Benedictine house in which he had been educated, to which he gave all his paternal possessions, and of which he speedily became abbot^o. Throughout the reigns of Edmund and Edred, Dunstan and Odo were all-powerful. It was Dunstan who, at the coronation of Edwy, intruded himself into the King's presence at the instance of Odo; and when the storm afterwards fell upon the monks, he retired to the abbey of St. Peter at Ghent, whence he returned in the year 957 to join the party of Edgar, in whose court he remained until the death of Edwy in 959. In that year Dunstan became bishop, first of Worcester and then of London (holding both sees simultaneously), and on the death of Elsi he was elevated to the primacy.

¹ Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 114.

^m His father was the brother of Archbishop Athelm, and was in some degree connected with the royal house of Wessex.

ⁿ Osborn, the biographer of Dunstan, asserts that at this time there was no monastic society at Glastonbury, and that Dunstan was taught there by "several devout and learned Irishmen," who, as Collier somewhat grotesquely says, "wanting the encouragement of a monastery to support them, set up a sort of modern academy, taught men of quality's sons the *belles-lettres*, music, engraving (!), and such like improvements of education."—*Eccles. Hist.*, bk. iii. cent. 10.

^o The assertions of St. Dunstan's biographers, that he was "the first English abbot" (*primus abbas Anglicæ nationis*), and that Glastonbury was the first Benedictine monastery, are altogether inexact. See Kemble's note, *Saxons in England*, ii. 431.

As Archbishop, the great object of Dunstan was the triumph of monasticism, and the so-called "reformation" of the secular clergy. It is certain that the rule of even the Benedictine monasteries throughout England had become greatly relaxed; and that "even in the collegiate churches the presbyter and prebendaries had permitted themselves to take wives, which could never have been contemplated even by those who would have looked with indulgence upon that connection on the part of parish priests^p." Dunstan accordingly, besides insisting that the clergy generally should put away their wives, attempted to expel the secular canons and prebendaries, and to substitute in their stead bodies of regular monks. Whether, however, he was a "violent disturber, casting all things divine and human into confusion, for the sake of a system of monkery,"—or whether the reformation at which he aimed was a more legitimate one, and only carried out (so far as it was effected at all) gradually and quietly,—are questions still undecided. Mr. Kemble^q suggests that the canons were not, as is generally said to have been the case, forcibly driven from their cathedrals; but were only replaced by monks as the death of each one left a vacancy. Dean Milman, on the other hand, has come to a different conclusion: "It was not by law, but by armed invasion of cathedral after cathedral, that the married clergy were ejected, and the Benedictines installed in their places^r." The story, told at length from the early Lives of St. Dunstan, will be found in Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," bk. iii. c. 10. It is at least certain that in the assumption of ecclesiastical authority, Dunstan exceeded, rather than fell short of, his

^p Kemble, Sax. in Eng., ii. 454.

^q Sax. in Eng., ii. "The Clergy and the Monks." This chapter must be read by every one who desires to investigate the subject. Mr. Kemble depends partly on the signatures of charters, which prove the gradual withdrawal of the *clerici*.

^r Lat. Christ., iii. 116.

predecessor Odo; and the two famous miracles which occurred during the contest between the seculars and regulars,—the speaking crucifix at Winchester (A.D. 969), and the fall of the floor at Calne (A.D. 978),—remind us, at all events, of the Archbishop's "mastery over all the mechanic skill of the day."

Dunstan died in May, 988; having held the primacy for twenty-seven years. He was buried in his cathedral at Canterbury, "in the spot which he had himself chosen two days before his death." Countless miracles were wrought at his tomb. (Pt. I. § XIV.) His right to a place in the catalogue of saints was speedily acknowledged; but "he had achieved no permanent victory. Hardly twenty years after the death of Dunstan, a council is held at Enham. It declares that there were clergy who had two, even more, wives; some had dismissed their wives, and in their lifetime taken others. It might seem that the compulsory breach of the marriage bond had only introduced a looser, promiscuous concubinage; men who strove, or were forced to obey, returned to their conjugal habits with some new consort*."

A charter in the handwriting of this famous archbishop, remains in the Chapter Library. (Pt. I. § XLIX.)

[A.D. 988—989.] **ÆTHELGAR**, first a monk of Glastonbury, then abbot of the "New Minster" at Winchester, and afterwards Bishop of Selsey, succeeded Dunstan.

[A.D. 990—994.] **SIRICIUS**, a monk of Glastonbury, had been elected Abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury by Dunstan's influence, and afterwards became Bishop of Wilton, whence he was translated to Canterbury.

[A.D. 995—1005.] **ÆLFRIC**, also educated at Glastonbury, succeeded Siricius in the Wiltshire see and at Canterbury. The homilies for the Christian seasons, generally attributed to this archbishop, have been printed by the "Ælfric

* Lat. Christ., iii. 116.

Society" (1843). It is, however, uncertain whether they were written by him, by Ælfric Putta, Archbishop of York (1023—1050), or by a third Ælfric named the Grammarian. They are of great interest and importance as containing the authoritative doctrines of the Saxon Church.

The monks of the convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, attached to the cathedral, who—after the first society established by St. Augustine had disappeared—had been re-introduced by Dunstan, and expelled under Ethelgar, "*propter insolentiam*," were restored under Ælfric. "Thus," says Fuller, "was it often 'In dock, out nettle,' as they could strengthen their parties."

[A.D. 1005—1012.] ALPHEGE, a West Saxon of noble birth, left the abbey of Glastonbury in which he had been prior, in order to lead a life of greater seclusion and austerity in a cell which he constructed for himself close to the hot springs at Bath. From the small body of followers which here collected about him arose the great abbey of Bath, afterwards united to the see of Wells. On the death of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, Alphege was appointed his successor through the influence of Dunstan; and after presiding over that see for twenty-two years, he was translated to Canterbury. In the year 1011 occurred the sack of Canterbury by the Danes, when the cathedral was greatly injured, the monks, all except four, were massacred, and the Archbishop himself was carried off a captive. The Danes kept him for seven months in their camp at Greenwich, in the hope of obtaining a large ransom for him. But Alphege declared he would not waste the goods of the Church, "nor provide Christian flesh for pagan teeth." At last he was dragged before the Danish chiefs, who were at a banquet: their cry was "Gold, bishop! gold!" and when he persisted in refusing, they pelted him with bones and cows' horns, until one of them finally killed him with an axe-stroke on the head. His body, which had been ransomed by the Londoners, and interred in the cathedral church of

St. Paul, was restored to Canterbury by Canute. His right to canonization as a saint and martyr was confirmed after the Conquest by Archbishop Lanfranc, and St. Alphege retains a place in our own Calendar.

[A.D. 1013—1020.] LIVING, (whose real name, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicler, was *ÆLFSTAN*. Lyfing, or Leofing, is a diminutive from the adjective *leof*—*carus*, and is thus equivalent to ‘darling,’) translated from Wells, was scarcely more fortunate than his predecessor. The Danish wars, as they might now fairly be called, continued until Canute finally established himself in the year 1016. Archbishop Living suffered much, and was long detained as a captive by the “host” of Sweyn. He at last withdrew from England, but returned with Ethelred on the death of Sweyn, and afterwards placed the crown on the heads of Edmund Ironside and of Canute.

[A.D. 1020—1038.] EGELNOTH is said to have been the first dean of the Canterbury canons, who, after the massacre of the monks by the Danes, seem to have outweighed the latter in numbers and in influence. Egelnoth repaired much of the damage which the Danes had inflicted on his cathedral, and on his return from Rome brought with him, as an inestimable treasure, the arm of St. Augustine of Hippo, which he gave to the church of Coventry.

[A.D. 1038—1050.] EADSI, translated from Winchester. His state of health compelled him to appoint Siward, Abbot of Abingdon, his vicar, apparently with full control over the property of the see. Siward scarcely allowed the Archbishop the necessaries of life; but died within a month of him, —it is said, of remorse for his conduct.

[A.D. 1051—1052.] ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES—one of the many Normans brought into England by the Confessor—was translated to Canterbury from London. Archbishop Robert is said to have assisted in exciting the King’s anger against Earl Godwin and his family. He was, at any rate, involved in the misfortunes of the Normans in England which fol-

lowed on the reconciliation of the King and the great Earl, and prudently withdrew to Rome, whence he is said to have returned with letters authorizing his restoration to his see. These, however, he never insisted on, but spent the remainder of his life in his old abbey of Jumièges.

[A.D. 1052—1070.] STIGAND, Bishop of Winchester, procured his own election as archbishop on the withdrawal of Robert. He did not, however, resign his former see, retaining both that and the archiepiscopate for sixteen years, a proof of the "greed and avarice" which, according to the chroniclers, were his especial vices. After the Conquest it was, says Thorn, the monk of St. Augustine's, who alone tells the story, this Archbishop, and Egilsin, Abbot of St. Augustine's, who, repeating the stratagem of Birnam-wood, led the host of the "men of Kent," concealed behind green boughs, to Swanscombe, near Gravesend, where they met the advancing Conqueror, and suddenly flinging away their green boughs, compelled him to confirm their ancient privileges. Whatever truth there may be in this story, it is certain that Stigand, as well as Aldred, Archbishop of York, was at first inclined to support the cause of Edgar Atheling; and that he was consequently regarded with extreme suspicion by the Conqueror, who obliged him, together with the Saxon Atheling himself, Agelnoth Abbot of Glastonbury, and some other English nobles, to accompany him to Normandy on his return in the summer of 1067. The Archbishop was honourably treated during his absence from England, but William probably thought him too uncertain a friend to be allowed to retain the primacy, and Stigand was accordingly deposed in a synod held at Winchester in the year 1070. On this occasion Hermenfrid, Bishop of Sion-on-the-Rhone, and two cardinal priests, represented Pope Alexander II., the especial patron of the Normans; and with their assistance, many of the English bishops and abbots, whose sees were too rich or too important to be filled by other than Normans, were dis-

possessed[†]. Among these was Egelmar, Bishop of East Anglia, and brother of Stigand. Stigand was imprisoned at Winchester, where he died within the year, having steadily refused to surrender his vast treasures to the King. A key and scroll found about his neck after his death are said, however, to have indicated the various places in which they had been concealed—under rocks, in forests, and in hiding-places under the beds of rivers. The great wealth of Stigand may have been one of the causes of his persecution, but it is clear that William dreaded the energy, and perhaps the ability, of the Primate in spite of his utter want of learning.

[A.D. 1070, May 1089—WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, WILLIAM RUFUS.] LANFRANC, the first Norman archbishop, whose name is still honoured by the English Church, was born at Pavia, of a noble family. At an early age he became an inmate of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, then, perhaps, the most remarkable seat of learning in Europe. It had been founded about half a century before, by Herluin, a Norman knight, "as ignorant as he was rude." Its reputation soon spread, and "strangers who were wandering over Europe found that which was wanting in the richer and more settled convents,—seclusion and austerity." "From the same monastery of Bec came in succession two primates of the Norman Church in England; in learning, sanctity, and general ability not inferior to any bishops of their time in Christendom,—Lanfranc and Anselm[‡]."

Lanfranc, in spite of the jealousy which he attracted,

[†] The grounds on which Stigand was deposed were :—

I. Because he held the see of Winchester at the same time with the archbishopric.

II. Because he not only took the archbishopric whilst Robert of Jumièges was living, but used his pall, which remained at Canterbury.

III. Because he had received his own pall from Benedict X., the excommunicated anti-pope.

[‡] Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 486.

partly on account of his superior learning, but more perhaps from the sharp use of his Italian wit, became at last Prior of Bec. The famous controversy excited by the teaching of Berengarius of Tours concerning the Real Presence was at this time in full debate. Lanfranc was generally regarded as the champion of the vital doctrine of Latin Christendom. He replied, in a treatise which still remains, to Berengarius; who in return admitted with a "haughty condescension," that the intellect of the Prior of Bec was "non aspernabile." In May, 1050, Lanfranc was present at the Council held in Rome by Pope Leo IX., in which Berengarius was condemned. He subsequently became abbot of the new monastery of St. Stephen's at Caen, founded by William of Normandy; and on the deposition of Stigand he was summoned to England to complete the subjection and reform of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Lanfranc at first resisted, "not only from monastic aversion to state and secular pursuits, but from unwillingness to rule a barbarous people, of whose language he was ignorant." He yielded, however, at last, and "came as a Norman. His first act was to impose penance on the Anglo-Saxon soldiers who had dared to oppose William at Hastings, even on the archers whose bolts had flown at random, and did slay, or might have slain, Norman knights." Great care was taken to provide that his election should be, to all appearance at least, strictly legal; and he was consecrated at Canterbury by Giso, Bishop of Wells, and Walter, Bishop of Hereford, neither of whom had received their own orders from the deposed Archbishop Stigand. On his visiting Rome for his pall, Pope Alexander II. rose to receive him, saying that it was not the Archbishop of Canterbury whom he thus honoured, but the learning and great virtues of Lanfranc, to whom he had been indebted for his own knowledge,—"*cujus studio sumus in illis quæ scimus imbuti.*"

* Lat. Christ., iii. 437.

Lanfranc found the Anglo-Saxon Church over which he was called to preside, in a state of extreme ignorance. "Like its faithful disciple, its humble acolyte, its munificent patron, Edward the Confessor, it might conceal much gentle and amiable goodness; but its outward character was that of timid and unworldly ignorance, unfit to rule, and exercising but feeble and unbeneficial influence over a population become at once more rude and fierce, and more oppressed and servile, by the Danish conquest." The new archbishop readily fell in with the plans of the Conqueror for the removal of the greater part of the bishops and abbots of English birth, "a stretch of power," says Mr. Hallam, "very singular in that age;" but the English Church, like the country itself, was treated as a conquered possession, and even the merits of the national saints were subjected to careful examination before they were admitted into the Norman calendar. It is possible that the Norman bishops were to some extent an improvement on their Saxon predecessors, and the decrees of the synod of London (1075) effected a certain good by their regulation of the great monasteries, which had fallen into complete disorder. A general rule for the Benedictine houses throughout England was drawn up by Lanfranc himself, whose life at Bec had been distinguished by great austerity, and whose sympathies were entirely on the side of the monks, in opposition to the secular clergy. The same synod decreed the removal of bishops' sees from the smaller towns and villages.

"A king so imperious as William, and a churchman so firm as Lanfranc, could hardly avoid collision. Though they scrupled not to despoil the Saxon prelates, the Church must suffer no spoliation. The estates of the see of Canterbury must pass whole and inviolable. The uterine brother of the King, (his mother's son by a second marriage,) Odo, the magnificent and able Bishop of Bayeux,

r Lat. Christ., iii. 435.

had seized, as Count of Kent, twenty-five manors belonging to the archiepiscopal see. The Primate summoned the Bishop of Bayeux to public judgment on Penenden Heath; the award was in the Archbishop's favour. Still William honoured Lanfranc; Lanfranc, in the King's absence in Normandy, was chief justiciary, vicegerent within the realm. Lanfranc respected William. When the Conqueror haughtily rejected the demand of Hildebrand himself for allegiance and subsidy, we hear no remonstrance from the Primate. The Primate refused to go to Rome at the summons of the Pope*."

In the year 1087 the Conqueror died at Caen, and his son William II. was crowned by Lanfranc. While the Archbishop lived, who had the prudence not to provoke him, the Red King in some degree restrained his covetous encroachments on the wealth of the Church. Two years later, however, (May, 1089,) Lanfranc himself died. He was buried before the "great crucifix" in the nave of his cathedral, but the precise spot is unknown.

At Canterbury, Lanfranc rebuilt his cathedral, which had fallen into complete ruin, (Pt. I. § II.) and established for the first time on sure foundations, and with a strict and definite rule, the great monastery of Christ Church with its 150 monks, to whom he gave a prior. Under his directions, also, the arrangement of the Church offices, drawn up by Osmund,* Bishop of Sarum, and afterwards known as that "*secundum usum Sarum*," was generally adopted throughout the south of England, thereby preventing the great variety of offices which every bishop

* Lat. Christ., iii. 438. Lanfranc seems to have entertained a strong personal regard for the Conqueror, and Eadmer describes the profound sorrow of the Archbishop on his death: "*Quantus autem meror Lanfrancum ex morte ejus perculerit, quis dicere possit, quando nos qui circa illum, nuntiata morte illius, eramus, statim eum, præ cordis angustia, mori timeremus?*"—*Hist. Novor.*, l. i. p. 13.

and abbot had hitherto been allowed to introduce almost at pleasure.

The remaining works of Lanfranc, consisting of numerous letters, of commentaries on portions of Scripture, and of his reply to Berengarius, have been published by the Benedictine editors, in folio, (1647,) and in two vols. 8vo. by Dr. Giles, Oxon. 1844.

For more than four years after the death of Lanfranc, (May 1089—Dec. 1093,) the see of Canterbury remained unfilled, the King thus escaping the "importunate control" of a primate, "and knowing," says Fuller, "that the emptiness of bishoprics caused the fullness of his coffers. Thus Archbishop Rufus, Bishop Rufus, Abbot Rufus, (for so he may be called as well as King Rufus, keeping at the same time the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winchester and Durham, and thirteen abbeys in his hand,) brought a mass of money into his exchequer." At length, however, the primacy was conferred on

[A.D. Dec. 1093—April 1109—WILLIAM II., HENRY I.]
ANSELM, of all the archbishops of Canterbury, with the single exception of Becket, the most celebrated throughout Europe during the Middle Ages.

Anselm, who is regarded as the founder of that scholastic philosophy which for so long afterwards continued to exercise the highest intellects of Christendom, was born in the year 1033, of noble parents, at Aosta in Savoy. At the age of twenty-seven he found his way to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, a foundation "which seemed to aspire to that same pre-eminence in theologic learning and the accomplishments of high-minded Churchmen which the Normans were displaying in valour, military skill, and the conquests of kingdoms^b." At Bec, Anselm studied under Lanfranc, who was already distinguished there, succeeded him as prior of the convent, and afterwards, on the death of

^a Church Hist., cent. xi. bk. 3.

^b Lat. Christ., iii. 356.

Herluin, the founder and first abbot, became himself abbot of Bec. He had been abbot for fifteen years, and his reputation for learning was widely spread throughout Europe, when he visited England in the year 1093, at the invitation of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, with whom he had been familiar in Normandy, and who, now on his death-bed, desired to unburden his conscience to Anselm, and to consult him about the foundation of a monastery in his town of Chester. It happened that the King, at this time, lay sick of a fever at Gloucester. "Nothing but the wrath of God, as William supposed, during an illness which threatened his life, compelled him to place the crozier in the hands of the meek, and as he hoped, unworldly Anselm. It required as much violence in the whole nation, to whom Anselm's fame and virtues were so well known, to compel Anselm to accept the primacy, as to induce the King to bestow it." Anselm was consecrated Dec. 4, 1093, by Walkelin, the first Norman bishop of Winchester.

William had expected to find Anselm readily manageable; but "when primate, Anselm, the monk, the philosopher, was as high, as impracticable a Churchman as the boldest or the haughtiest. Anselm's was passive courage, Anselm's was gentle endurance, but as unyielding, as impregnable, as that of Lanfranc, even of Hildebrand himself. No one concession could be wrung from him of property, of right, or of immunity belonging to his Church. He was a man whom no humiliation could humble; privation, even pain, he bore not only with the patience, but with the joy of a monk^d." Anselm's first quarrel with Rufus was as to which of the popes England should acknowledge, Guibert of Ravenna, the "anti-pope," or Urban II. The Primate himself had already acknowledged Urban, and after more than twelve months the struggle ended in Urban's becoming the Pope of England. But William was resolved either to make the Archbishop "his own man," or to get rid of

^c Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iii. 438.

^d *Id.*, 439.

him altogether. Fresh discussions were provoked concerning the numbers and want of training of the men furnished by the Archbishop for William's Welch expedition, and at length Anselm was required to take an oath of fealty, and to promise that under no circumstances he would appeal from the King of England to the Pope. This he refused, and was exiled accordingly. He withdrew at first to Lyons, whence he was speedily summoned to Rome by Pope Urban, and received with the utmost honour. During a council in the Lateran, there was some discussion as to the place of Anselm, since no archbishop of Canterbury had hitherto been present at Rome on such an occasion. The Pope decided it by assigning him a place in the corona, or eastern apse, close at his own right foot. "Includamus," are the words attributed to Urban by William of Malmesbury, "hunc in orbe nostro, tanquam *alterius orbis papam*." Anselm was afterwards present at the council of Bari (1098), during which his great learning was called upon to combat the errors of the Greek Church concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, a subject on which he afterwards put forth a *libellus*.

Urban II. died in 1099, and in the following year (August 1100) William Rufus was killed in the forest. Henry, the "Beauclerc," immediately recalled Anselm, and at first received him with all honour. Rufus had brought no very definite ground of complaint against the Archbishop, with whom he was determined to quarrel at all events. The great question of investitures was that which caused the long strife between Henry and Anselm, a strife which lasted almost to the end of his archiepiscopate. During his exile at Rome, Anselm had been taught to regard the feudal ceremony of investiture as "the venomous source of all simony." The bishops who had been elected during the years of the Primate's absence, had all received their temporalities as bishops elect, by the delivery of the ring and pastoral staff from the King in the usual manner.

None of them, however, had been consecrated, and Urban II. had prohibited Anselm from recognising any who had been thus invested. Henry I. now demanded their consecration. Anselm refused, and the question was at last referred to the new Pope, Paschal II., Anselm proceeding to Rome on his own part, and William Warlewast, the "invested" bishop of Exeter, on the King's. The Pope refused to recognise or to permit the investitures, and Anselm accordingly remained a second time in exile, until, partly by the good offices of the Countess Adela of Blois, sister of Henry I., and partly by the King's own prudence, who during his strife with his brother, Robert of Normandy, was unwilling to have a hostile archbishop, he was permitted to return to England. "The wise Henry has discovered that, by surrendering a barren ceremony, he may retain the substantial power. He consents to abandon the form of granting the ring and pastoral staff, he retains the homage, and that which was the real object of the strife, the power of appointing to the wealthy sees and abbacies of the realm. The Church has the honour of the triumph, has wrung away the seeming concession, and Anselm, who in his unworldly views had hardly perhaps comprehended the real point at issue, has the glory and the conscious pride of success*."

Anselm returned in 1107, and the remaining two years of his life were passed in comparative quiet. He died at Canterbury in April, 1109, and was buried near his predecessor Lanfranc; but his remains were afterwards placed in the tower still called by his name. (Pt. I. § xxxiv.) Four centuries after his death, by the exertions, and not without the purse of Archbishop Morton, who died in 1500, his great predecessor was admitted into the catalogue of saints.

It need hardly be said that it was not the firm resistance of Anselm to the despotism of the Norman kings which

* Lat. Christ., iii. 439.

procured for him his great and lasting reputation throughout Europe. This was entirely the result of his wide theological learning, and of his position as the first of the great Schoolmen whose teaching was recognised by the Church. In the retirement of the cloister, and after the stir and movement caused by the first Christianization of Europe had somewhat ceased, dialectics, or the science of logic, "one of the highest (if not the highest) of intellectual studies," became more and more attractive, and "under the specious form of dialectic exercises the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate." In replying to Roscelin, the first great "nominalist," Anselm developed the "realist" theory, afterwards generally accepted as orthodox; and shewed that, whilst maintaining the most entire devotion to the Church, it was possible to sound the profoundest depths of metaphysical subtlety.

The best and most complete edition of the works of Anselm is the magnificent Benedictine folio, Paris, 1675. The volume also contains the Life of St. Anselm, by Eadmer of Canterbury, his friend and contemporary, and the same author's *Historia Novorum*, embracing all the public history of his time. The best dissertation on the scholastic philosophy of Anselm is that of M. C. de Rémusat, *Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry*, Paris, 1853.

After Anselm's death the see of Canterbury was again vacant five years (April 1109 — June 1114). For this time it was under the care of Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, the King of course retaining the temporalities. At length [A.D. 1114, Oct. 1122.—HENRY I.] RALPH was himself elevated to the primacy. He was of Norman birth, and in his youth had studied under Lanfranc. As archbishop he was undistinguished. He was buried in the nave of his cathedral.

[A.D. 1123, Nov. 1136.—HENRY I., STEPHEN.] WILLIAM DE CORBEUIL, who succeeded, is said to have been the first archbishop who took the title of Papal Legate, conferred on

him by Honorius II. On the death of Henry, the Archbishop, induced by the representations of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (see WINCHESTER), consented to crown Stephen, although he had before solemnly sworn to support the cause of Matilda. Many of the chronicles insist that he died of remorse for this act. The cathedral of Canterbury, rebuilt by Lanfranc, and enlarged under Anselm by Prior Ernulf, (Pt. I. § II.,) was completed during Archbishop William's episcopate, and was solemnly dedicated by him, "*cum honore et munificentiâ multâ*," on the 4th of May, 1130. Henry King of England, and David of Scotland, were both present, besides "all the bishops of England." "*Non est audita*," says Gervase, "*talīs dedicatio in terra post dedicationem templi Salomonis*."

[A.D. 1139, April 1161.—STEPHEN, HENRY II.] THEOBALD, a Benedictine who had been Abbot of Bec, was elected in a synod held at London, and presided over by Albert, Cardinal of Ostia, the Papal Legate. The title of "*Legatus Natus*" was afterwards granted to this archbishop by Pope Innocent III., and was retained by his successors until the Reformation. Archbishop Theobald fell upon troubled times; and was overshadowed in his dignities by the powerful Bishop Henry of Blois,—as vigorous and energetic a prelate as Theobald seems to have been a gentle one. There were many struggles between them; and the Archbishop twice found himself an exile on foreign shores,—once through the plotting of Henry of Blois, and again when, in 1153, Stephen attempted to prevail on the bishops assembled in council at London to crown his son Eustace as his co-partner and successor. Theobald escaped down the Thames, and passed over to France. He was soon restored to the royal favour, however; and after the death of Eustace succeeded, in conjunction with Bishop Henry of Blois, in bringing about the final arrangement by which Stephen retained the crown for his life, to be succeeded

by Henry, son of Matilda. The Archbishop's life was untroubled after the death of Stephen. His own death occurred in 1161; and he was interred, it is generally said, on the south side of the choir. The tomb now shewn there, however, is certainly not his. (Pt. I. § XXXIII.)

The see had been vacant for more than a year, when
[A.D. 1162, Dec. 29, 1170—HENRY II.] THOMAS BECKET
became Archbishop.

Setting aside the romance which has been connected with the origin of Becket¹, it is tolerably certain that his father was a London merchant of good position and unblemished character. The future archbishop was educated among the Augustinian canons of Merton, in Surrey; whom he delighted to revisit in the days of his prosperity. He was recommended to Archbishop Theobald by "two learned civilians from Bologna," who were lodging at his father's house; and from this time was on the high road of advancement. He was retained in the household, and employed on the service, of the Primate; with whom he visited Rome, and for whom he conducted some most difficult negotiations with Pope Eugenius III. Becket, although only in deacon's orders, was made Archdeacon of Canterbury,—thus obtaining the richest benefice, after the bishoprics, in England; and received many other preferments from the Archbishop—"plurimæ ecclesiæ, prebendæ nonnullæ." It was by Archbishop Theobald's influence, also, that Becket was raised to the dignity of Chancellor,—probably in 1155. Theobald was anxious to place near the young King some one who might "prevent his mind from being alienated from the clergy by fierce and lawless counsellors."

¹ The name *Becket*, a diminutive of *bec*, signifies a little brook or streamlet. Becket's family was possibly Saxon; but the word *bec* was common to both Saxons and Normans, as the name of the famous Norman monastery sufficiently proves. Whether the Archbishop was generally known as Thomas *Becket* during his lifetime is very doubtful.

The magnificence of Becket as chancellor, and his close intimacy with the young King, are especially dwelt on by his biographers. "The power of Becket throughout the King's dominions equalled that of the King himself—he was king in all but name; the world, it was said, had never seen two friends so entirely of one mind^c." It was to the counsels of the Chancellor that the pacification of England, after the troubles of Stephen's reign, was mainly owing. In 1160 he went as Ambassador to Paris to demand the hand of the Princess Margaret for the King's infant son, Prince Henry, whose education was afterwards entrusted to him: and during the expedition made by Henry II. to assert his right to the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of 700 knights, and was foremost in every adventurous exploit. Wealth poured in upon him, as Chancellor, from all quarters. From the King he received the wardenship of the Tower of London, and the lordship of the castle of Berkhamstead, with the honour of Eye.

Archbishop Theobald died April 18, 1161. The see had been vacant more than a year, when Henry, then at Falaise, sent Becket to England for his election to the Primacy. The Chancellor remonstrated, but in vain. "He openly warned, it is said, his royal master, that as Primate he must choose between the favour of God and that of the King—he must prefer that of God^d." The monks of Christ Church, however, alleged that Becket had never worn the monastic habit: the suffragan bishops were not more favourably disposed towards him; and it was only the arrival of the Grand Justiciary, Richard de Lucy, with the King's peremptory commands for his election, which awed the monks into submission. Becket was ordained priest at Whitsuntide, 1162; and the following day (Whit-Sunday) was consecrated Primate of England in the Abbey of Westminster by Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, the see of London being vacant.

^c Lat. Christ., iii. 449.

^d Id., 453.

Becket's course of life was at once changed. He became "not merely a decent prelate, but an austere and mortified monk. . . . His table was still hospitable and sumptuous, but instead of knights and nobles, he admitted only learned clerks, and especially the regulars, whom he courted with the most obsequious deference. For the sprightly conversation of former times were read grave books in the Latin of the Church¹." The Archbishop resigned the chancellorship, "as inconsistent with the religious functions of the primate," whilst Henry was still in France; and in May, 1163, he was present at the council of Tours, at the head of nearly all the English bishops.

In the course of the following year, the long strife between the King and the Archbishop commenced: and in a Parliament held at Westminster, Henry insisted "that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be immediately degraded, and handed over to the officers of his justice, to be dealt with according to law. . . . He demanded this in the name of equal justice and the peace of the realm²." Becket inflexibly maintained the inviolability of the holy persons of the clergy; and when further asked whether he would observe the customs of the realm, replied that he would do so "saving his order." Henry broke up the assembly, and deprived Becket both of the custody of the royal castles and of the guardianship of the young prince. At the persuasion of the bishops, however, Becket afterwards went to Oxford and withdrew his opposition.

In January, 1164, a great council of the realm was summoned at Clarendon, near Salisbury. The famous "Constitutions," which were then drawn up, subjected the whole of the clergy, equally with the laity, to the common laws of the land. The Archbishop swore to observe them, but afterwards refused to sign or seal them. All the other prelates subscribed and sealed the Constitutions as the laws of England. On his return to Canterbury,

¹ Lat. Christ., iii. 456.

² Id., 462.

Becket imposed on himself the severest penances, and wrote to the Pope imploring absolution for his oath, which he speedily received.

The Archbishop, thus at open strife with the King, was summoned to attend a Parliament at Northampton in October, 1164. Here, after a fine had been inflicted on him for withholding justice from John the Marshall, who claimed an estate from the see of Canterbury, various demands were brought against Becket, "which seemed framed for the purpose of reducing the Archbishop to the humiliating condition of a debtor to the King, entirely at his disposal:" the last and the overwhelming demand was "an account of all the monies received during his chancellorship from the vacant archbishopric and from other bishoprics and abbeys. The debt was calculated at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks¹." After taking counsel with the bishops, all of whom were opposed to him, Becket appeared in the King's hall bearing his own cross; and that celebrated scene occurred, which terminated in the flight of the Archbishop from England. He appealed to the Pope, and prohibited his suffragans from sitting in secular judgment on their metropolitan—both which steps were infringements on two of the Constitutions of Clarendon. By so doing he incurred something approaching a charge of capital treason, and his life was not impossibly endangered, when he escaped (Oct. 13) from Northampton to Lincoln; thence he passed into Kent, and on All Souls' Day landed on the coast of Flanders, near Gravelines.

From Flanders Becket passed into France, where he was received with the utmost honour, both by Louis VII., and by the Pope, Alexander III., who, also an exile, was at this time residing at Sens, the metropolitan city. The Pope rebuked the weakness of Becket in swearing to the Constitutions of Clarendon; and Becket resigned his archiepiscopate to Alexander, from whom he received it once

¹ Lat. Christ., iii. 469. 470.

more; and was then established at the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny, about twelve leagues from Sens. Henry had sent his own ambassadors to protest against the countenance of Becket in France; and now, learning his honourable reception, he ordered the revenues of the Archbishop to be seized, and banished from the kingdom all the Primate's kinsmen, dependents, and friends—400 in number.

For nearly two years Becket remained at Pontigny; regulating his life by the sternest monastic discipline. Toward the end of this period he cited Henry, by three successive messengers, to submit to his censure; and at last, on Ascension Day, 1166, in the church of the monastery of Vezelay, famous for its possession of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, he solemnly condemned and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon; and excommunicated both those who observed them, and all who enforced their observance. Many of his most powerful adversaries were then excommunicated by name. Henry was as yet spared; but his wrath, on becoming acquainted with what had passed at Vezelay, drove him almost to madness. The ports of England were guarded against the introduction of the instruments declaring the excommunication; and the General of the Cistercians was compelled to drive Becket from Pontigny. He removed accordingly to Sens.

The struggles of the ensuing three years need not be told in detail here. According as his own affairs prospered, Pope Alexander III., now in Italy, pronounced himself more or less decidedly on the side of Becket. Two cardinals, William of Pavia and Otho, were appointed papal legates in France to decide the cause; but a meeting of the kings of France and England, of the cardinals, and of Becket, near Gisors (Nov., 1167), only resulted in fresh appeals to the Pope, who now named as mediators the prior of Montdiou and a monk of Grammont. A meeting took place at Montmirail, which was broken off without a reconciliation by Becket's own unexpected tergiversation.

On his return to Sens he again excommunicated Foliot, Bishop of London, and many others of Henry's most faithful counsellors: and once more Alexander appointed a legatine commission, consisting of Gratian, "a hard and severe canon lawyer," and a priest named Vivian. They effected no more than their predecessors, although the terrors of the excommunications were now beginning to disturb England, and although Becket had written to the English bishops commanding them to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict; but it was Henry who this time suddenly broke off all negotiation by refusing the "kiss of peace" to Becket. A royal proclamation was issued, withdrawing all obedience due to the Archbishop; and to ensure its observance the sheriffs were to administer an oath to all freemen. This oath the bishops refused to take. "The King and the Primate thus contested the realm of England." The Pope, although he would pronounce decisively on neither side, nevertheless gave permission for Roger, Archbishop of York, to officiate at the coronation of the young Prince Henry, thereby setting aside the undoubted prerogative of the archbishops of Canterbury. He also absolved the Bishops of London and Salisbury, both of whom had been excommunicated by Becket.

Becket wrote fiercely to Rome in reprobation of the conduct of Alexander. The reconciliation between Henry and the Archbishop seemed more remote than ever, and after the coronation of the Prince, Becket wrote again to the English prelates, directing them to publish the interdict in their dioceses. At this time, a meeting took place between the Kings of England and France at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. The Archbishop of Sens prevailed on Becket to be present in the neighbourhood. It had been suggested to Henry that the Archbishop would be less dangerous within the kingdom than without it. "The hint had flashed conviction on the King's mind." He was persuaded to see Becket at Fretteville, and after

a long private conference, the reconciliation took place, so suddenly as to surprise the world. Not a word was said on either side about the Constitutions of Clarendon. The interference with his right of coronation was the principal grievance dwelt on by Becket, and Henry promised that his son should receive his crown again from the hands of the Primate. The Pope, willing to associate himself once more with the cause of Becket, renewed the excommunications of the Bishops of London and Salisbury, and suspended the Archbishop of York. At Becket's request, these measures were grounded entirely on their usurpation of the right of crowning the King.

Four months afterwards, Dec. 1, 1170, Becket landed at Sandwich. The papal documents authorizing the suspension and excommunication of the Prelates had already been conveyed across the Channel, not without great difficulty. The Prelates themselves had appealed to the King: but Becket, instead of returning to England with thoughts of peace, scattered excommunications and censures in all directions. His proceedings were duly notified to the King, whose well-known exclamation led to the departure of four knights, his chamberlains—Reginald Fitzurse, Hugh de Moreville, William de Tracy, and Richard le Bret. They assembled at Saltwood Castle, and on the 28th of December reached Canterbury, and took up their abode in St. Augustine's Abbey. The next day a fierce interview occurred between Becket and the knights in the archiepiscopal palace, on the termination of which the Primate was hurried by his attendants into the cathedral. The famous scene there has been sufficiently described, Pt. I. § XVIII., and Henry's subsequent penance in § XLII.

The causes for which this long struggle was maintained between the King and the Archbishop should be carefully borne in mind. "For those who believe that an indiscriminate maintenance of ecclesiastical claims is the best service they can render to God and the Church . . . it may

not be without instruction to remember that the Constitutions of Clarendon, which Becket spent his life in opposing, and of which his death procured the suspension, are now incorporated in the English law, and are regarded without a dissentient voice as among the wisest and most necessary of English institutions; that the especial point for which he surrendered his life was not the independence of the clergy from the encroachments of the crown, but the personal and now forgotten question of the superiority of the see of Canterbury to that of the see of York^m. "Becket was indeed the martyr of the clergy, not of the Church; of sacerdotal power, not of Christianity; of a caste, not of mankindⁿ."

He was acknowledged, however, almost immediately after his death, to have earned a place among the most undisputed martyrs, "so completely were clerical immunities part and parcel of Christianity^o." The great fame of his miracles brought crowds of pilgrims to his magnificent shrine from all parts of Europe; and Canterbury itself, from comparative obscurity, emerged into a glory which rivalled that of Compostella or Cologne. For a notice of the shrine, see Pt. I. § XXVII.

The most important of the ancient Lives of Becket have been collected and printed, together with his letters, in 8 vols. 8vo. (Oxon. 1845), by Dr. Giles. The letters may also be found in the 16th volume of Dom Bouquet's *Gallicarum Rerum Scriptores*. A very curious collection of the *Miracula S. Thomæ*, by Benedict, a monk of Canterbury, has been edited by Dr. Giles. Of the modern Lives the most valuable are Canon Robertson's "Becket: a Biography,"

^m Stanley: "The Murder of Becket." Hist. Mem. of Canterbury.

ⁿ Milman, Lat. Christ., iii. 526. See also the striking passage which concludes his "Life of Becket," pp. 527, 8.

^o "Quod alicujus martyrum causa justior fuit, aut apertior, ego nec audiui nec legi."—*Herbert de Bosham, Vita S. Thomæ*.

(Murray, 1859); and the admirable one contained in the third volume of Dean Milman's "Latin Christianity." A Life of Becket from a purely Romanist point of view has been published by the Rev. J. Morris, of Northampton, (Longman, 1859). Two essays of the highest value and interest, "The Murder of Becket," and "The Shrine of Becket," will be found in Canon Stanley's "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," (Murray).

Within a month after the murder of Becket, the monks of Christ Church elected Robert, Abbot of Bec, to the primacy, which, however, he refused to accept. Their next choice was

[A.D. 1174—1184—HENRY II.] RICHARD, Prior of Dover, who had accidentally been present at Canterbury at the time of the murder, and who, together with the Abbot of Boxley, assisted in conveying the body of the Archbishop into the crypt. According to Peter of Blois, Archbishop Richard was somewhat careless and indifferent, and more ready to attend to matters temporal than spiritual. During the Council held at Westminster in 1173, at which letters were read from the Pope authorizing the invocation of Becket as a Saint, the dispute for precedency between Canterbury and York attained its climax. Archbishop Richard had seated himself at the right hand of the Papal Legate, "as in his proper place, when in springs Roger of York, and finding Canterbury so seated, fairly sits him down in Canterbury's lap." A frightful disturbance ensued, and Archbishop Roger nearly lost his life under the sticks and fists of the opposite party, who shouted out as he rose from the ground with crushed mitre and torn cope, "Away, away traitor of St. Thomas; thy hands still reek with his blood!" It was as a result of this combat, and in order to settle the dispute, that the Pope conferred upon the two Prelates the distinctive titles which they still bear—Primate

of England (York), and Primate of all England (Canterbury). Archbishop Richard died in the year 1184, at his manor of Halling near Rochester, terrified, according to Hoveden, by the apparition of St. Peter in a dream, who reproached him with his want of zeal.

After some dispute between the monks of Christ Church and the suffragan bishops of the province, both of whom claimed the right of election, the monks, not without much discussion, consented to receive

[A.D. 1185—1190—HENRY II., RICHARD I.] BALDWIN, a Cistercian monk of low parentage, born at Exeter, and afterwards Abbot of Ford in Devon, whence he had been raised in 1181 to the bishopric of Worcester. Baldwin was the first Cistercian who filled the see of Canterbury. All his predecessors (who had been monks at all) had been Benedictines. A perpetual feud raged between this archbishop and his monks, from whom he desired to take their so often claimed right of election to the Primacy, and to bestow it on a body of canons, who would be more easily managed. The canons were to be established at Hackington, near Canterbury, but the monks procured a papal bull by which the scheme was altogether frustrated. A second attempt of Archbishop Baldwin to establish his canons at Lambeth, which he purchased for the see, was prevented by his death. He had followed Cœur de Lion to the Holy Land, and died (Dec. 1190) in the camp before Acre. His portrait has been favourably drawn by Giraldus Cambrensis, who accompanied him whilst preaching the Crusade in Wales, and who was afterwards with him in Palestine.

The monks of Christ Church, as soon as they were made aware of the Archbishop's death, elected

[A.D. 1191, Nov.—Dec.,—RICHARD I.] REGINALD FITZ JOCELYN, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who consented to his election with great reluctance, but died before his pall could be received from Rome. Richard, during his detention in Germany, wrote to his mother Eleanor, and to

the Archbishop of Rouen, entreating them to procure the election of

[A.D. 1193—July 13, 1205—RICHARD I., JOHN.] HUBERT WALTER; and the monks, fearing that the suffragans of Canterbury would be assembled for this purpose, elected him beforehand of their own accord.

Hubert Walter, born at West Derham, in Norfolk, and educated under Ranulph de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England, had become Bishop of Salisbury in the first year of Richard I., whom he had accompanied, and by whose side he had fought, on his famous crusade. On the return of the King, after Hubert's elevation to the primacy, the Archbishop was made Chief Justiciary; but the monks speedily procured a bull from Pope Innocent III., ordering Cœur de Lion to remove him from this office, since it compelled him to sit as a judge in "causes of blood." King John, however, immediately after his accession, made Hubert his Chantellor; and for the first time an Archbishop of Canterbury filled that high office, the duties and privileges of which combined with his archbishopric to make him by far the most powerful subject in England. He retained the chancellorship until his death, and in the discharge of that and of his other duties seems to have won golden opinions from all men. "*Principis erat frenum, et tyrannidis obstaculum,*" says Giraldus Cambrensis, who knew him well, "*populi pax et solatium, majorum pariter et minorum suis diebus contra publicæ potestatis oppressiones in necessitate refugium.*" The laws promulgated under Richard I. are said to have been drawn up by this archbishop, who, as Chancellor, strengthened the defences of the Tower of London, and formed the 'Tower Ditch,' or fosse, surrounding it, into which he brought the water of the Thames. He completed, under certain restrictions insisted on by the monks of Christ Church, the house of regular canons at Lambeth, which his predecessor had commenced. Archbishop Hubert died (July 13, 1205) at his

manor of Teynham, on the Watling Street between Rochester and Canterbury, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his effigy still remains. (Pt. I. § XXXVII.)

On the death of Hubert, the younger monks of Christ Church hastily elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the vacant see. Their elder brethren subsequently declared this election void, and with the royal permission chose John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich. The suffragan bishops acquiesced, and De Gray was duly enthroned, and invested with the temporalities by King John. It was agreed upon by all, however, that an appeal should be made to Rome, in order to determine with whom—the monks or the suffragan bishops—the right of election to the primacy really lay. The Pope, Innocent III., decided in favour of the monks, and annulling both the late elections as having been irregularly made, commanded them to choose

[A.D. 1207—July 9, 1228.—JOHN, HENRY III.] STEPHEN LANGTON, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. “Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the Primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth^a, of irreproachable morals, profound theological learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and obtained surpassing fame and honourable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton, and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III.”

Langton was accordingly consecrated at Viterbo, June 17, 1207, by Pope Innocent himself. “The fury of John

^a He is said to have been born at Exeter, but this is uncertain ; nor are the rank and position of his parents at all known.

^b Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, iv. 84.

knew no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him; he threatened to burn their cloister over their heads. They fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the Church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine, the lands of the monks of Christ Church lay an uncultivated wilderness.* To the Pope he declared that "Stephen Langton at his peril should set foot on the soil of England." Innocent at last, after much expostulation, published, (March 24, 1208,) through the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, the famous interdict. The prelates who published it, besides some other bishops, fled the kingdom. "From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land's End to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptize new-born infants with a hasty ceremony, those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place, in a ditch or a dung-heap, without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite†."

The steps by which John proceeded to alienate the whole of his subjects, laity as well as clergy, cannot be detailed here. Stephen Langton at last obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far as to allow the performance of divine service once a week in the conventual churches, and in these the King was (1210) personally excommunicated. In the following year the Pope released his subjects from their oath of allegiance; and finally, at Soissons, (April 8, 1213,) in presence of the King of France himself, Langton solemnly proclaimed the deposition of King John, and exhorted Philip Augustus to take up arms to dethrone him.

* Lat. Christ., iv. 85.

† Id., 87.

The result of this was the despair of John, in presence of the great French preparations for invasion, the arrival in England of Pandulph the legate, and the famous scene in which John resigned his crown (May, 1213) in the Church of the Templars at Ewell, near Dover. John consented to receive the Archbishop and the Prelates who had been exiled, and on St. Margaret's-day (July 20, 1213,) Stephen Langton, accompanied by the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, landed at Dover and proceeded to Winchester, where they were met before the gates by the King, who fell at their feet, weeping. He was absolved by them in the cathedral.

So far Langton had, in conjunction with the Pope, been asserting the liberties of the Church against the King. He was now to assert the liberties of England against the same King, but also in opposition to the Pope. He was at the head of the barons of England during that momentous strife which ended in the signature of the Great Charter. It was Langton who, in effect, began the struggle, by protesting that the King could not legally arm against the barons who had left him on his embarkation for Poitou, before a fair trial had taken place; and it was he who produced to the barons the charter of Henry I. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmundsbury, and never appeared in arms. His name is that of the first witness to Magna Charta, (June 15, 1215,) and when the Pope, who was now on the side of John, abrogated the Charter, and enjoined the Primate and his suffragans to publish the excommunication of the barons, Stephen Langton demanded delay, and firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as having been obtained from the Pope by false representations. The Archbishop proceeded to attend the Lateran Council to which he had been summoned. Langton had some time before inhibited the papal legate, the Cardinal of Tusculum, from inducting prelates and priests within the realm; and the appeal of the Archbishop and Cardinal

to Rome had of course been decided in favour of the latter^a. This appeal had been only one of the Archbishop's offences against the Pope, and on his arrival in Rome, (Nov., 1215,) he found Innocent severe and unbending. He was solemnly suspended from all ecclesiastical functions; and although this suspension was afterwards relaxed, he was compelled to remain at Rome "in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his see." Here he was detained throughout all the subsequent troubles in England, until the death of Pope Innocent III. (July, 1216,) was succeeded in a few months by that of King John, (Oct. 1216).

Langton was now permitted to return to his see, and the remainder of his archiepiscopate was passed in comparative tranquillity. It was he who presided (July 7, 1220) at the translation of the remains of Becket from the crypt to Trinity Chapel. (Pt. I. § XXVII.) Much of the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was rebuilt by him. He died, July 8, 1228, at his manor of Findon in Sussex, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his tomb still remains, (Pt. I. § XXXIX.)

Archbishop Langton was the first who divided the Bible into chapters: "as," says Fuller, "Robert Stephens, a Frenchman, that curious critick and painful printer, some six score years since, first subdivided it into verses. A worthy work, making Scripture more manageable in men's memories . . . and the passages therein the sooner to be turned to, as any person is sooner found out in the most populous city, if methodized into streets and houses with signs^x."

See YORK for a notice of Simon Langton, the worthy brother of this archbishop, who was sent to Rome as the delegate of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he ap-

^a The legate had been empowered by Innocent, without consulting the primate or the bishops, to appoint to all the benefices which had become vacant during the interdict.

^x Worthies—Kent.

pealed against the intrusions of the legate ; and who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in spite of the papal prohibition, the only time during which the two highest preferments in the English Church have been held by two brothers.

After a struggle between the King and the monks, who had elected one of their own body, named Walter de Evesham,

[A.D. 1229—1231—HENRY III.] RICHARD DE WETHERSHED, Chancellor of Lincoln, was appointed and consecrated. He died in 1231, whilst on his return from Italy, at the little town of St. Gemma, and was buried in the Church of the Friars Minors there.

The monks now elected—one after another—Ralph Neville, Bishop of Chichester, and Chancellor ; John, Prior of Christ Church ; and Richard Blondy, who afterwards became Bishop of Exeter ; all three of whom were set aside on different pretexts by Pope Honorius III. At the earnest entreaty of the Pope they at length consented to receive

[A.D. 1234—1240—HENRY III.] EDMUND, treasurer of Salisbury, whose learning and piety were of great reputation, but who had never dreamed of aspiring to so great a dignity. He was the son of Edward Rich, a merchant of Abingdon, and was educated at University College in Oxford. Influenced, perhaps, by the new Order of Friars Preachers—the Dominicans, who were just commencing their career, (although he never himself joined their ranks,) he left Oxford to commence a life of wandering and preaching throughout the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Worcester ; and his fame as a preacher, which at length became considerable, procured him the treasurership of Salisbury, whence he was raised to the primacy. As Primate he was too firm and too earnest to escape perse-

† St. Dominic died Aug. 6, 1221.

cution. He excited the anger of the King by his opposition to the marriage of Eleanor, sister of Henry III., to Simon de Montfort, on the ground that she had vowed to remain unmarried after the death of her first husband. The papal legate Otho opposed the Archbishop, on account of the frequent reproofs of his extortion and rapacity. The monks of Rochester appealed to Rome against him because he refused to consecrate as their bishop one of their number, who was altogether unworthy. On this occasion Archbishop Edmund himself repaired to Rome, where, however, by the ill offices of his enemy the legate Otho, he was unsuccessful. In the year 1240, despairing of the condition of England and of her Church, which was completely in the hands of foreigners, he voluntarily exiled himself, and in November of the same year died, it is said, enfeebled by excessive abstinence, in the Cistercian abbey at Pontigny, where he had found a refuge on leaving England, and which was probably endeared to him from its recollections of Becket and of Langton, both of whom had been sheltered there. Within six years after his death, Archbishop Edmund was canonized by Pope Innocent IV. His remains, under the direction of Louis IV. of France, were placed in a rich shrine, which still occupies the most distinguished position in the ancient church of the abbey, and which, it is said, still contains the bones of the sainted archbishop.

The best excuse for the desertion of his charge by Archbishop Edmund is to be found in the condition of England, which he was powerless to improve. "Throughout the long reign of Henry III. this country was held by successive Popes as a province of the papal territory. The legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held, or affected to hold, an undefined supremacy. . . . England was the great tributary province, in which papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation*." English sees and English

* Lat. Christ., iv. 807.

benefices, the latter in great numbers, were held by foreigners, either intruded by the Pope or relatives of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence. "All existing documents shew that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil." More than once, and in different parts of England, the people rose against the intruders, but little change was effected. The most powerful of the foreign prelates was St. Edmund's successor in the English primacy,

[A.D. 1241—1270.—HENRY III.] BONIFACE OF SAVOY, Bishop of Bellay, son of Peter, Count of Savoy, uncle of the Queen, Eleanor of Provence, and "brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred body-guard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1241, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1244. The handsome, proud prelate, found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced and set forth on a visitation of his province, not, as it was said, and as too plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries, must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner. From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop (Fulk Basset, of the noble old Norman house) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's stood by his bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry, Dean of St. Paul's, and his chapter, in the name of St. Thomas, the martyr of Canterbury. The sub-prior of St. Bartholomew's (the prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded

the rights of the bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope. The excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return, Boniface continued his visitation. . . . He trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a papal diploma of exemption; Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not for, the Pope would not regard, the insult."

"After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual, arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace, to England. With such a primate the Pope was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England*."

Archbishop Boniface did not remain inactive during the barons' wars under Simon de Montfort. He was one of the King's council in the so-called "Mad Parliament" at Oxford, (June, 1258,) and was afterwards either exiled or voluntarily fled the kingdom, to which and to his see he was only restored under certain express conditions. He again left England, however, and died July 18, 1270, at the

* Lat. Christ., v. 27—29.

Castle of St. Helena in Savoy. His tomb remains at 'Altacumba,' with the inscription "Hic jacet Bonifacius de Sabaudia, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, operibus et virtutibus plenus." Among the 'opera' of this archbishop three virtuous ones are certainly recorded. He freed his see (whether by means as good as the deed itself is not so certain) from the enormous debt of 22,000 marks which his predecessors had contracted; he founded, in honour of Becket, hospices for the reception of pilgrims or poor travellers, both at Canterbury and at Maidstone; and he completed the great hall of the palace at Canterbury.

After the monks had in vain attempted to procure the papal recognition of their sub-prior, William Chillenden, whom they had elected, Pope Gregory X. himself nominated

[A.D. 1273—1278.—EDWARD I.] ROBERT KILWARDBY, a Franciscan of great learning, educated at Oxford and at Paris. Although the Christ Church Benedictines had long insisted that their head and archbishop should be a monk of their own order, they had been compelled to receive more than one who had never taken any monastic vows, and did not now venture to dispute the choice of the Pope. Like his predecessor, Archbishop Kilwardby made the visitation of his entire province, and displayed his learning in disputations held in both Universities. In London he built a convent for the Friars Minors, to which Order he belonged, and one for the Dominicans at Salisbury. About the year 1278 Archbishop Kilwardby visited Rome, and was created Cardinal-bishop of Portus. He then abdicated the English archbishopric, and not long afterwards (Sept. 1279) died, it was said, of poison, at Viterbo, where he was buried in the church of the Dominicans.

[A.D. 1279—Dec. 1292.—EDWARD I.] JOHN PECKHAM, nominated, like his predecessor, by the Pope, after the monks had in vain attempted to elect Bishop Burnell, of Bath and Wells, was, like Kilwardby, a Franciscan, born of obscure

parents in Sussex, educated at Oxford and Paris, and afterwards a student of both laws at Lyons, in the cathedral of which city he obtained a canon's stall, which he retained during his life, and which his successors in the see of Canterbury held one after another for the next two centuries^b. Peckham subsequently became "Auditor of the Chamber" in the household of Pope Nicholas III., by whom he was selected to fill the English primacy.

As Archbishop, Peckham was at first a steady supporter of the King, Edward I., whose great aim was the consolidation of the whole British empire under his sovereignty. The Archbishop accompanied Edward on his Welsh expedition, and pronounced an excommunication against Llewellyn and the rest of the chieftains of Wales. His voice does not seem to have been raised "against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest. Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance^c." His acquiescence in Edward's great financial measure—the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews—is not less certain. He caused them to be expelled from every part of the diocese of Canterbury, and directed their synagogues to be levelled with the ground.

Archbishop Peckham vigorously defended the privileges of his see, and resisted the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, who insisted on having his cross borne before him within the province of Canterbury, when he attended the synod at Lambeth in the year 1280. Peckham directed that no one should receive the rival archbishop, or sell his attendants provision of any kind until the cross-bearer had disappeared; a virtual excommunication which speedily brought about the desired result. Toward the end of his archiepiscopate, Peckham had many struggles in main-

^b It was retained probably as some kind of provision in case of exile.

^c Milman, v. 178.

tenance of his privileges with the King himself, and narrowly escaped exile in consequence. He died, however, at his manor of Mortlake, Dec. 1292, and was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom, where his tomb and effigy still remain (Pt. I. § xx). He had founded the collegiate church of Wingham, in Kent, but died very wealthy.

A provincial synod was held by Archbishop Peckham at Lambeth in 1281, the most important decrees of which will be found in Collier^d. The tenth canon, which directs parish priests to explain "the fundamental and necessary parts of religion to the people every quarter," is important as containing an abstract of the authoritative teaching of the English Church at this time. The quarrel of the English clergy with Rome, which during the reign of Henry III. had been kept at boiling pitch by the papal pretensions, by the intrusion of foreigners into the richest sees and benefices, and by the incessant demands for money, had now somewhat abated. "The short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the see of Rome, and (later) the brief papacy of Cœlestine (1293), relaxed to some extent the demands of tenths and subsidies." On the other hand, the acquisition of wealth by the English Church, and its consequent power, were greatly checked by the famous Statute of Mortmain, which was passed in 1279, the first year of Archbishop Peckham's primacy^e.

[A.D. 1292—1313—EDWARD I., EDWARD II.] ROBERT WINCHELSEA was in all probability born at Winchelsea, in Sussex, although this is uncertain. He was educated at Canterbury, in the school attached to the monastery of Christ Church, proceeded to Merton College, Oxford, and thence went to Paris, of which University he became Rector. He afterwards returned to Oxford and was elected Chan-

^d Church History, bk. v. cent. 13.

^e Compare Hallam, M. A., vol. ii. pp. 226, 227 (ed. 1855), with Milman, Lat. Christ., vol. v. p. 183.

cellor. Winchelsea seems to have been regarded as one of the most learned and able men of the time, and it was with the general approbation of king, clergy, and monks that he was nominated Primate. He was already Archdeacon of Essex and a Canon of St. Paul's.

The Archbishop-elect at once proceeded to Rome, where he found the papal throne vacant, and seems to have been present at the inauguration of Cœlestine V. (Peter Morrone) the hermit-pope. He was consecrated at Rome in September, 1294, and did not return to England until March 1294. During his absence, the King, Edward I., between whom and Philip the Fair of France war was impending, demanded of the clergy, in a Parliament at Westminster, a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded, but at last "submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced as it were by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King." Similar measures, involving the severe taxation of the clergy, who had hitherto considered themselves, in principle at least, as free from all civil assessments, were taken by Philip of France; and Boniface VIII. (Benedetto Gaetani) who had succeeded Cœlestine V., at once constituted himself champion of the Church property, and issued his famous bull *Clericis laicos*, which declared that without his consent no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on the estates or possessions of the clergy by any temporal sovereign in the world. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of Archbishop Winchelsea, who was still in Rome.

Neither Edward nor Philip, however, were to be thus intimidated. "The year after the levy of one half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy, pleading their

^f Lat. Christ., v. 186.

inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate, refused all further grant[‡]. A struggle immediately commenced between them and the King, who ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King's seal. The Archbishop summoned a provincial synod, which peremptorily refused all concession. At length "the whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry: they had no resort to the King's justice. . . . They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition; they must either resist the King or the Pope . . . There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned toward the more prudent course, and agreed to set aside a fifth part of their revenue, in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded The Primate, as though the shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encouragement, refused all submission, but he stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized for the King's use Notwithstanding the papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm . . . He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock[‡]."

The war had now broken out; but before the King's departure for Flanders, feeling it dangerous to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, he restored his barony to the Archbishop and summoned him to a Parliament at Westminster, in which he entrusted the heir of England to the care of his future people. At this time the two charters—the Great Charter and that of the Forests—were confirmed, and it was directed that they

‡ Lat. Christ., v. 190.

‡ Id., 191, 192.

should be sent to all the cathedrals in the realm, to be there kept, and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. "Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians, and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent!"

Edward, however, retained no good-will to the Archbishop, and on his return from Flanders accused Winchelsea of having conspired, during the King's absence, to dethrone and imprison him, and to set up his young son, afterwards Edward II., in his place. How far the accusation was proved is not evident, but the Archbishop was deprived of all his possessions, and none were permitted to assist him, or even to receive him under their roofs. He would, it is said, have died of hunger, had not the monks of Christ Church secretly supported him until he was able to escape into France. For this assistance the monks themselves were afterwards driven from their convent, and not restored for some months. The Archbishop passed two years in exile, suspended by the Pope, at the instance of Edward, from the discharge of all functions, spiritual or temporal, until he should clear himself from the charge brought against him. On the accession of Edward II., however, he was recalled, and restored to all his honours. In spite of his opposition to the young King's favourite, Peter de Gaveston, who had imprisoned the Bishop of Coventry, Winchelsea continued undisturbed in the discharge of his office until his death at Otford in 1313.

The charities of Archbishop Winchelsea, during his prosperity, were worthy of an English primate. Every Sunday and Friday he gave to all comers a loaf worth one farthing,

¹ Lat. Christ., v. 193.

(equal to at least four-pence at present). When corn was dear, not less than 5,000 persons are said to have been thus relieved; when it was cheap, not fewer than 4,000. On every solemn festival he distributed 150 pence to the poor. Many students were supported by him at Oxford. The people regarded him as a saint, and his tomb, of which some slight trace remains in the south-east transept, (Pt. I. § XXXVI.) was sought as a shrine by thousands. For this reason it is said to have been removed by Henry the Eighth's commissioners, at the same time as the greater shrine of the "Martyr of Canterbury."

[A.D. 1313—Nov. 1327—EDWARD II.]—WALTER REYNOLDS was appointed, at the instance of King Edward, by the Pope, who set aside the monks' election of Thomas Cobham, Dean of Salisbury. Reynolds, who was Bishop of Worcester, had been tutor to Edward II., and in 1310 had been made that King's Chancellor. He continued in office for about a year, and when, after the death of Gaveston, it was settled that there should be no chancellor, but that the King should appoint a "keeper" under the superintendence of three persons to be named by the barons, Walter Reynolds became the new Keeper of the Great Seal, which he retained for twelve months after his elevation to the primacy. As Archbishop, Reynolds obtained from Rome no less than eight bulls of privileges, the most important of which gave him permission to make a visitation of his province extending over three years, for which time the jurisdiction of all his suffragan bishops was suspended. Notwithstanding his early connection with Edward II., and the favour with which that king had always regarded him, he deserted him in his troubles, and is said to have died of terror because the Pope had threatened him with spiritual censures for having somewhat irregularly consecrated Berkeley Bishop of Exeter, with a view to please the Queen and her favourite. His tomb remains in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § XXXVII.)

[A.D. 1328—1333—EDWARD III.] SIMON MEPHAM, born at Mepham in Kent, and educated at Merton College, Oxford, was elected by the monks, and consecrated at Avignon. He was unfortunate in his episcopate. A dispute between himself and the monks of Christ Church concerning certain Kentish manors was decided by the Pope against him; and during his visitation of his province, which he commenced after the custom of his predecessors, he was resisted by Grandisson, the powerful Bishop of Exeter, who encountered the Archbishop at the west door of his cathedral, and opposed his entrance by force. "This affront," says Fuller, "did half break Mepham's heart," and the recent decision of the Pope, which he had just learnt, "did break the other half." The Archbishop died at his palace of Mayfield, in Sussex, soon after his return from the West. His beautiful tomb forms the screen of St. Anselm's Chapel in the cathedral, (Pt. I. § xxxiii.) He rebuilt the parish church at Mepham, his birth-place.

[A.D. 1333—1348—EDWARD III.] JOHN STRATFORD was nominated by the Pope, at the instance of the young King, Edward III. He was probably born at Stratford-upon-Avon, was partly educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he acquired high reputation for his proficiency in the civil and canon laws, and became at a very early age Archdeacon of Lincoln. Through the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, the Pope nominated Stratford to the bishopric of Winchester in 1323. Robert Baldock, however, Edward the Second's Chancellor, had intended Winchester for himself; and managed accordingly to persecute the new bishop until, again by the influence of Archbishop Reynolds, he was received to the royal favour. Edward II. employed him on various embassies, and in the last year of his reign made him his Lord Treasurer. He remained faithful to the King's cause, which even the Archbishop had deserted, during the temporary triumph of Queen Isabella. At this time he was compelled to remain in

concealment, but when the young King, Edward III., took upon him the government of the realm (1330), Stratford was at once made Lord Chancellor. In 1333 he was elected to the primacy. He ceased to be Chancellor in the following year, but again received the Great Seal in 1335, and retained it until 1337, when it was delivered to his brother, Robert de Stratford,—“the single instance of two brothers holding successively the office of Lord Chancellor¹.” In 1340 the Archbishop became Chancellor for the third time, and in the same year was again succeeded by his brother.

The fall of the Stratfords was, however, at hand. The Archbishop had dissuaded the King from commencing his French war, asserting plainly that his claim to the crown of France was not a sound one. It is probable that this advice had from the first irritated the young King, but both Stratfords apparently retained his favour until his sudden return from France in 1340, after his great naval victory in the Zwyn. But from this victory he had, however, gained no fruits, and he had incurred immense debts with the Flemings. The remittances from England came in but slowly, and Edward, finding it convenient to throw the blame on those he had left in authority at home, on his arrival in England deprived and imprisoned Robert de Stratford, then the Chancellor; and arraigned the Archbishop himself of high treason, accusing him of malversation of the subsidies levied for the war. “The Archbishop flies from Lambeth, (two other bishops, Lichfield and Chichester, the King’s treasurers, had been sent to the Tower). At Canterbury he ventures to excommunicate his accusers, the King’s counsellors, with bell, book, and candle. He returns to London, but shrouds himself under the privileges of Parliament, rather than under his eccle-

¹ Lord Campbell; who compares the two Stratfords in the fourteenth century, to the two Scotts, Lord Eldon and Lord Stowell, in the nineteenth.

siastical immunity. He forces his way, himself bearing his cross, into the House of Peers, as his place of security, his one safe sanctuary. He is at last obliged to submit, ere he can be admitted to compurgation, to an investigation before a jury of twelve of his peers—four prelates and eight nobles. The quarrel is settled by amicable intervention, but the King grants, rather than condescends to accept, pardon. This arraignment of Becket's successor without a general insurrection of the Church, with no papal remonstrance, though Stratford himself held the loftiest doctrines on the superiority of the priest to the layman, is an ominous sign^{*}. England, throughout the long reign of Edward I., "was becoming less hierarchical, the hierarchy more English." The heavy taxation of the Crown, to which the clergy had been compelled to submit, made them more impatient of the taxation of the see of Rome, from which they had been further alienated by the intrusion of foreign prelates into the wealthiest sees. An additional step toward rendering the Crown independent of the hierarchy was taken by Edward III. on the fall of the Stratfords by the appointment of a layman as Chancellor¹.

The remaining years of Archbishop Stratford's life were comparatively untroubled. He died at Mayfield in Sussex, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1348, and was interred in his own cathedral, where his monument still remains, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) In his native town of Stratford-upon-Avon he founded a collegiate church.

Some time before the death of Archbishop Stratford, Edward III. had written to the Pope, Clement VI., pro-

^{*} Lat. Christ., vi. 99. The proceedings against Stratford form an important precedent, according to Hallam, towards the determination of the question whether bishops are entitled, on charges of treason or felony, to a trial by the peers.—*Middle Ages*, vol. iii. pp. 204-5, (ed. 1855).

¹ The first lay Chancellor was Sir Robert Bourchier, a distinguished soldier.

testing against the papal nominations to vacant English sees, which had recently become so frequent; and asserting, what was equally an innovation, that the right of nomination had always belonged to the Crown. This letter was followed up by the "Statute of Provisors," passed in 1350. Although the papal intrusions still continued, and rendered other measures necessary, the stand thus made against Rome by Edward III. contributed not a little to increase the power of the Crown, and to render the English hierarchy more completely national^m.

The monks of Christ Church elected Thomas Bradwardine as Stratford's successor. The King, however, insisted on the appointment of John Ufford, a son of the Earl of Suffolk, and Chancellor of England; who was accordingly recognised by the Pope. But he died (May, 1349) of the terrible 'Black Death,' unconsecrated and without the pall, within six months of his nomination, and he is, therefore, not reckoned among the archbishops. On his death, monks, King, and Pope agreed in their choice of

[A.D. 1349, June—Aug.—EDWARD III.] THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the "Doctor Profundus" of the Schoolmen, who had long been the King's confessor. He was consecrated at Avignon, died soon after his return to England, and was buried in the cathedral at Canterbury, in St. Anselm's Chapel. Bradwardine was born at Hartfield in Sussex, and educated at Merton College. His most important book was a tract against Pelagianism, entitled *De Causa Dei, vel de Virtute Dei, Causa Causarum*. Archbishop Bradwardine, says Fuller, "mingled his profitable doctrines with a sweet and amiable conversation; indeed, he was skilled in school learning, which one properly calleth 'spinosa theologia;' and though some will say, 'Can figgs grow on thorns?' yet his thorny divinity produced much sweet devotion . . . I behold him as the most pious man who,

^m See, for a notice of the "Statute of Provisors," Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240, (ed. 1855.)

from Anselm (not to say Augustine) to Cranmer, sat on that seat. And a better St. Thomas, though not sainted by the Pope, than one of his predecessors commonly so called^a. Chaucer thus alludes to him in his "Nun's Priest's tale":—

" But I ne cannot boult it to the bren
As can the holy Doctour Saint Austin,
Or Boece; or the Bishop Bradwardine."

Archbishop Bradwardine was the most conspicuous of English geometers during the fourteenth century: "Yet more for his rank and for his theological writings than for the arithmetical and geometrical speculations which gave him a place in science".

The primacy had been vacant three times within the year; it was now filled by

[A.D. 1349—1366—EDWARD III.] SIMON ISLIP, educated at Merton, *bina lege probatus*, and the King's secretary. As Archbishop, Islip is said to have been somewhat severe, and to have cared little about external magnificence. He built, however, the greater part of the palace at Mayfield, where the ruins of his beautiful hall still remain; and completed the archiepiscopal palace at Maidstone, which Ufford had commenced. Islip is said to have "wasted, in his building, more of the timber in the Dour-dennes (Weald of Kent) than any of his predecessors". At Oxford he founded and endowed Canterbury Hall (now forming part of Christ Church¹), in which he endeavoured to blend together the monastic and secular clergy, and of which, when the original intention had apparently failed, and the monks had been removed, Wycliffe the reformer

^a Church History, cent. xiv. bk. iii.

^o Hallam, Lit. Hist., pt. i. ch. 2. § 34.

^p Birchington.

¹ A memorial of Islip's foundation remains in the name of "Canterbury Quadrangle."

was named Warden*. Archbishop Islip died at Mayfield, April 26, 1366, and was buried in the nave of his cathedral, whence all trace of his tomb has disappeared.

[A.D. 1366—1368—EDWARD III.] SIMON LANGHAM, Bishop of Ely, Treasurer of England, and (1363) Lord Chancellor, was Islip's successor. That he was not altogether popular appears from the monastic rhymes which recorded his translation:—

“Exultant cœli quia Simon venit ab Ely
Cujus in adventum flet in Kent millia centum.”

He restored the monks to Canterbury Hall, and dispossessed Wycliffe. “Soon after his translation,” says Collier, “he received a strict order from Pope Urban V. to enquire into the pluralists of his province; and here, upon examination, it was found that some clerks had no less than twenty benefices and dignities by papal provisions, with the privileges, over and above, to increase their number as far as their interest would reach.” In 1368 he received a cardinal's hat from Urban V., and (Nov. 17, 1368) resigned his archbishopric, the temporalities of which had already been seized by the King, who “had not been made pre-acquainted with his promotion†.” Langham died at Avignon in 1376, and was buried in the church of the Carthusians there, whence, three years later, his remains were conveyed to the Abbey Church of Westminster, in which great convent he had been successively monk, prior, and abbot, and where (in the chapel of St. Benedict) his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

* See the narrative in Milman's *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 106.

† Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, bk. vi. cent. xiv.

‡ Collier. Dean Milman instances the fact of the Archbishop's resignation as one of the many proofs of a “change in the national opinion and in the times.” The cause, however, is not altogether evident. It is asserted that Langham was aiming at the Papacy, and that when he found his hopes in that direction disappointed, “*abdicati sui archiepiscopatus penituisse videtur.*” — *Anglia Sacra*, i. 120.

[A.D. Oct. 1368—June, 1374—EDWARD III.] WILLIAM WHITTLESEA, a nephew of Archbishop Islip, who had employed him on many embassies to the court of Rome, was translated to Canterbury from Worcester on the nomination of the Pope. Little is recorded of this Archbishop, whose tomb, in the nave of his cathedral, has been long destroyed.

[A.D. 1375—June 14, 1381—EDWARD III., RICHARD II.] SIMON OF SUDBURY was translated from London by the provision of the Pope, who knew that the choice would not be displeasing to Edward III. The father of the Archbishop, who was of noble birth, was Nigel Theobald, of Sudbury in Suffolk. Simon was sent at an early age to the different French Universities, in which he pursued the study of law with great success. He afterwards became *Auditor Rotæ* in the court of Innocent VI., then Chancellor of Salisbury and Bishop of London, from which see he was translated to Canterbury. In 1379 (the third year of Richard II.) the great seal was delivered to Archbishop Simon, "*contra gradum suæ dignitatis*," says Walsingham, since he had never been Chancellor before his elevation to the primacy.

As Chancellor, Archbishop Simon, in the parliament of Northampton (1380), proposed the famous poll-tax which served as an excuse for the outbreak of Wat Tyler's rebellion; and as Archbishop, he had imprisoned at Maidstone the priest John Ball, "a religious demagogue of the lowest order," who became one of its principal leaders. After Jack Straw and his mob had advanced from Blackheath upon London, and whilst the young King was holding his conference with the mass of the rebels at Mile-end, Wat Tyler, with a body of 400 men, broke into the Tower, in which the Archbishop, and Robert Hales, the Treasurer, had remained after the departure of the King to Mile-end;—seized, and beheaded them. The Archbishop had passed the night in prayer, and was in the act of celebrating Mass

when the noise of the attack was first heard. He presented himself of his own accord to the rebels, and was dragged to the castle yard, where he warned them that violence offered to him would possibly lead to the placing of all England under an interdict. In spite of the fervour with which he addressed them,—“*erat vir eloquentissimus*,” says Walsingham, “*et incomparabiliter ultra omnes regni sapientes sapiens*,”—he was compelled to kneel, and after many blows his head was struck off. He died imploring pardon on his enemies. His body remained on the ground all that day and a part of the next, no one venturing to touch it. His head, like that of the Treasurer, was fixed on a pike, and after being carried in mockery through the streets, was hung over London Bridge. A man named John Starling, who boasted that he had killed the Archbishop, was himself beheaded a few days later; and Walsingham asserts that more than one miracle was afterwards wrought at the intercession of the murdered Simon of Sudbury. Comparisons were even made between him and the great martyr of Canterbury, as in Gower’s *Vox Clamantis*:—

“*Quatuor in mortem spirarunt fœdera Thomæ ;
Simonis at centum mille dedere necem.*”

The Archbishop’s body was conveyed to Canterbury, and buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xxxv.) “Not many years ago, when this tomb was accidentally opened, the body was seen within, wrapped in cerecloth, a leaden ball occupying the vacant space of the head.” Archbishop Simon rebuilt much of the church of St. George at Sudbury, his native place, and founded a college of secular priests there. At Canterbury he built the west gate, still remaining, and great part of the city walls. In commemoration of the benefits he had bestowed on their town, the mayor and aldermen used to pay an annual visit to his tomb “to pray for his soul.”

▪ Stanley.

[A.D. 1381—July 31, 1396—RICHARD II.] WILLIAM COURTENAY, son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, was translated to Canterbury from London, like his predecessor. The recent rebellion had been attributed, with entire injustice, to the spread of Wycliffe's doctrines, and John Ball was regarded as his partizan. "Between the two men there was no connection, less sympathy." Wycliffe had already twice appeared before Courtenay as Bishop of London, and had twice defied or escaped prosecution. Now, however, the Archbishop, full of the indignation and terror inspired by the sight of his predecessor's headless trunk, "summoned a synod to deliberate and determine on the measures to be taken concerning certain strange and dangerous opinions widely prevalent, as well among the nobility as among the commons of the realm." The synod condemned twenty-four articles gathered out of the writings of Wycliffe, and much persecution of those supposed to favour him speedily followed. But the Wycliffites were not silenced, nor was Wycliffe himself drowned "in so strong a stream as ran against him." "Admirable," continues Fuller, "that a hare so often hunted by so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting in his form".

Archbishop Courtenay, more fortunate than his predecessor Mepham, succeeded in establishing his right to the visitation of his province, although, like Mepham, he was opposed by the Bishops of Exeter (see EXETER—Bishop BRANTYNGHAM) and of Salisbury. He died July 31, 1396, at Maidstone, but there is some doubt whether he was interred there or at Canterbury. His monument remains, however, in the cathedral, adjoining that of the Black Prince (Part I. § XXXI.), of whose will, Courtenay, when Bishop of London, had been one of the executors. He left large sums toward the completion of the nave of Canterbury, the re-

▼ Lat. Christ., vi. 127.

✱ Church Hist., cent. xiv. bk. iv. Wycliffe died at his parsonage at Lutterworth, Dec. 31, 1384.

building of which had been commenced under Archbishop Simon, and was continued during his own archiepiscopate. At Maidstone he rebuilt the church, dedicating it afresh to All Saints, and connecting it with the college of secular priests which he established there.

[A.D. 1396—1414—RICHARD II., HENRY IV., and HENRY V.]

THOMAS ARUNDEL, by papal provision, was translated to Canterbury from York. He was the son of Robert Fitzalan, thirteenth Earl of Arundel, and younger brother of Richard the fourteenth earl, who was beheaded. The new Archbishop had scarcely been enthroned when he became involved in the conspiracy for which his brother, the Earl of Arundel, was executed before his face; and was himself exiled. He fled to the Papal Court, where he remained until the success of Bolingbroke's expedition restored him to his see. It was Archbishop Arundel who received the abdication of Richard II., by whom he had been exiled. "Arundel presented Henry to the people as their king, . . . Arundel set the crown upon his brow, . . . Arundel might seem to have forgotten in his loyal zeal that he was the successor of Becket. In the insurrection of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, two clergymen were hanged, drawn, and quartered without remonstrance from the Primate. . . . When Archbishop Scrope (of York), after the revolt of the Percies, is beheaded as a traitor, Arundel keeps silence."

In the first Parliament of Henry IV. (1400) the statute *De hæretico comburendo*, necessary to legalize the burning of heretics, was enacted; and under its provisions William Sawtree, a Wycliffite preacher at St. Osyth's, in the city, was solemnly condemned by Archbishop Arundel in a convocation at St. Paul's (1408), and delivered to the secular arm for burning. Sawtree is to be regarded as the first English Protestant martyr, although "he does not lead the

holy army with much dignity." Two other Lollards, John Badbee and William Thorpe, were condemned by the Archbishop during the reign of Henry IV., the first of whom was burnt. After the accession of Henry V., Arundel was principally employed in attacking the famous head of the Lollards, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, whose history need not be related here. Arundel was present at the head of the other bishops in the Dominican convent at London when Cobham was condemned in 1413.

Archbishop Arundel died Feb. 19, 1414. In the Parliament of 1407 he had firmly defended the clergy against the attacks of the Commons, who sought to throw the burden of their taxation upon the wealth of the Church; but his archiepiscopate is chiefly memorable for his persecution of the Lollards, whose teaching was spreading too widely, and was far too dangerous to the hierarchy, to be allowed to remain unchecked.

[A.D. 1414—April 12, 1443—HENRY V. and HENRY VI.]

HENRY CHICHELE, elected by the monks, would not consent to recognise their election until it had been confirmed by Pope John XXIII.* Chichele was born about the year 1362, of wealthy but not of noble parents, at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, and was educated in Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford. His especial patron was Richard Metford, Bishop of Salisbury, who made him archdeacon successively of Dorset and of Salisbury, and by whose advice he was appointed in 1397 ambassador to

* Milman, vi. 144. Sawtree on his trial declared that he had never made a former recantation, the proofs of which were brought into court. "But," says Fuller, "let those who severely censure him for *once* denying the truth, and do know who it was that denied his Master *thrice*, take heed they do not as bad a deed more than *four* times themselves. May Sawtree's final constancy be as surely practised by men, as his former cowardliness no doubt is pardoned by God."—*Church Hist.*, bk. iv. cent. xv.

* The Pope, however, whilst he nominated Chichele, claimed the right of provision.

Gregory XII. at Sienna.^a By this Pope's "provision" he was afterwards consecrated at Lucca Bishop of St. David's; and in 1409 Chichele was present at the Council of Pisa, where he assented to the degradation of Gregory XII. In 1414 he became archbishop.

It is certain that Shakspeare has, with entire historical truth, represented (see "Henry V.," act i. sc. 1, 2) the Primate as justifying, if not urging, the "iniquitous claim" of Henry V. to the crown of France. "The lavish subsidies of the Church were bestowed with unexampled readiness and generosity for these bloody campaigns. It was more than gratitude to the House of Lancaster for their firm support of the Church and the statute for burning heretics; it was a deliberate diversion, a successful one, of the popular passions to a foreign war, from their bold and resolute aggressions on the Church^b,"—much of the temporalities of which the Commons in Parliament had more than once proposed to strip away. Archbishop Arundel had resisted them boldly and openly; Archbishop Chichele by diverting attention to a French war, and by promising large subsidies from the clergy for its maintenance. He retained the favour of Henry V. throughout that King's life, and was godfather to the Prince, afterwards Henry VI.

Whilst, however, the English hierarchy was thus defending itself, the new Pope, Martin V., who after the Council of Constance "resumed all the haughty demeanour and language of former pontiffs," addressed Chichele as the metropolitan of the English Church, reproving his "criminal remissness and cowardice" in not opposing and procuring the reversal of the many statutes—especially those of "provisors" and of "præmunire"—by which the papal power in England had been held in check. Chichele is reminded that he is the successor of the glorious martyr St. Thomas. But the Archbishop "strove to maintain

^b Lat. Christ., vi. 236.

a middle course. He could not defy the Pope, he knew that he could not annul the law of England. He urged on a Parliament at Westminster the terrors of a papal interdict on the land. The Parliament paid no further regard to these terrors than to petition the Pope to restore the Primate of England to his favour^c; and the University of Oxford, whilst they give him the title of the "golden candlestick of the Church of England," declare to the Pope that Chichele "stood in the sanctuary of God as a firm wall that heresy could not shake nor simony undermine that he was the darling of the people and the foster-parent of the clergy." The Archbishop, however, was never restored to the favour of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Martin V.

In his native town of Higham Ferrers, Archbishop Chichele founded a collegiate church and a hospital. At Oxford he was the founder of St. Bernard's College (for Cistercian students),—which after the Reformation became St. John's,—and of All Souls'; in the name and statutes of which College it is possible to trace that "deep remorse for his sin" in instigating the last great war of conquest in France, with which his declining years were haunted. The members of the Society were enjoined to pray for the "souls of Henry V., and the Duke of Clarence, together with those of all the dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and other subjects of the Crown of England, who had fallen in the war with France." At Canterbury, Archbishop Chichele built and furnished with books a library for the monks of Christ Church.

In 1442 the Archbishop applied to Pope Eugenius for permission to resign his see, since he was "so heavy laden, age^d, infirm, and weak, as not to be able any longer to bear the burden of it." Before any reply was received, however, Chichele died, April 12, 1443, having held his archiepiscopate for nearly thirty years, a longer period

^c Lat. Christ., vi. 239.

than any of his predecessors. His tomb, which was constructed by himself during his lifetime, and is kept in repair by the society of All Souls', remains in the north choir-aisle of his cathedral (Pt. I. § xxiv.), and, like his college, seems to indicate a deeply penitential spirit.

[A.D. 1443—July 6, 1452—HENRY VI.] JOHN STAFFORD, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whom Chichele had recommended to the Pope as his successor, was accordingly nominated by Eugenius IV., with the King's consent. He was a son of the Earl of Stafford, had been patronized by Chichele, and was made by Henry V. Dean of Wells and Treasurer of England. Martin V. appointed him to the see of Bath and Wells in 1425, and in 1431 he became Lord Chancellor, an office which he retained for more than ten years, a period of unusual length. Archbishop Stafford, who seems to have been distinguished either as chancellor or archbishop by no very remarkable ability, died at Maidstone in 1452. He was buried in the south choir-aisle of his cathedral.

[A.D. Sept. 1452—March, 1454—HENRY VI.] JOHN KEMP, Archbishop of York, succeeded. He was born at Wye, in Kent; educated at Merton College, Oxford; became Archdeacon of Durham; Bishop successively of Rochester, Chichester, and London; and in 1425 Archbishop of York. In 1439 he was created Cardinal of St. Balbina, and was further raised to be Cardinal of St. Rufina on his translation to Canterbury. Hence a verse concerning him ran,—

"Bis primas, ter præsides, et bis Cardine functus."

He died at a great age, before he had been six months primate, and is buried in the north choir-aisle (Pt. I. § xxxv.) When Archbishop of York he raised to a collegiate church, and endowed accordingly, the parish church of his native place, Wye.

[A.D. 1454—1486—HENRY VI., EDWARD IV., EDWARD V.,

RICHARD III., HENRY VII.] THOMAS BOURCHIER, Bishop of Ely, was freely elected by the monks, whom the King would in no way influence. He was the son of William Bourchier, Count of Eu in Normandy, and Earl of Essex in England, by Anne, daughter of Thomas Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III., of whom the Archbishop was consequently the great grandson. Archbishop Bourchier was educated at Oxford, of which University he became Chancellor in 1434; in 1435 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester, whence he was removed to Ely in 1443. In 1454 he became Archbishop, and in 1464 he was created Cardinal of "St. Cyriacus in Thermis."

Archbishop Bourchier fell upon troubled times, and was called upon more than once to play a difficult part. In 1455, whilst the royal authority was for a short time resumed by Queen Margaret, Archbishop Bourchier was made Chancellor, and he was allowed to retain the Great Seal after the battle of St. Alban's in the spring of the same year (May 22), which gave back the power to the Yorkists. He did not resign it until October 1456, when the party of the Red Rose was again uppermost. The great seal was once more in his custody for a short time in 1460. The Archbishop, who had always affected neutrality in the struggle between the two Roses, effected their final union by performing the marriage ceremony between Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York (Jan. 18, 1486). Two months afterwards (March 30), Archbishop Bourchier closed his long life at his palace of Knowle, and was interred at Canterbury, where his tomb remains.

His episcopate, as Bishop successively of Worcester and of Ely, and as Archbishop, lasted for 51 years; and is the longest on record in the English Church. For thirty-two of those years he filled the primacy. Throughout his life, Archbishop Bourchier was an active patron of learning and of men of letters; and has the honour of having contributed toward the introduction of printing into this country.

[A.D. 1486—Sept. 1500—HENRY VII.] JOHN MORTON, like his predecessor, was translated to Canterbury from Ely. He was born in 1410, at Bere, in Dorsetshire, of good but not distinguished parentage; was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, in which University he became *Legum Doctor*, and was afterwards patronized by Archbishop Bouchier, who recommended him to Henry VI. He served that King faithfully as a privy councillor until Edward IV. was firmly seated on the throne, "when he thought it not inconsistent with the duties of a good citizen to submit to the ruling powers without renouncing his former attachments⁴." The royal favour was continued to Morton by Edward IV., who made him Master of the Rolls, Bishop of Ely (in 1478), and by his last will appointed him one of his executors. In this capacity he had some sort of guardianship of the royal children; and Richard of Gloucester, who had made overtures to him in vain, found it necessary for the success of his projects to remove the Archbishop, who was accordingly committed to the Tower after the famous scene at the council from which Lord Hastings was led off to execution. This scene has been drawn by Shakespeare from Sir Thomas More's "Life of Richard III."—the details of which are said to have been furnished by Morton, himself the Bishop of Ely whose strawberries were so famous:—

Glo. My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn
I saw good strawberries in your garden there,
I do beseech you send for some of them.

Ely. Marry, and will my lord, with all my heart.

* * * * *

Where is my Lord Protector? I have sent
For these strawberries"

After a petition from the University of Oxford, which declared that, "like Rachel weeping for her children, she

⁴ Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i. 412.

* King Richard III., act iii. sc. 4.

was moved with pity over the lamentable distress of this her dearest son," Morton was committed to the care of the Duke of Buckingham, and was imprisoned in the castle of Brecknock. Thence he managed to escape, and joined the Earl of Richmond on the Continent, whose invasion he assisted in planning. After the battle of Bosworth, Morton was recalled to England, and on the death of Cardinal Bouchier Henry VII. procured his election to the primacy. In the year 1493 he obtained a cardinal's hat for the Archbishop from Pope Alexander VI. The marriage of Henry with Elizabeth of York, although celebrated by Archbishop Bouchier, is said to have been originally brought about by Morton.

In 1487 Archbishop Morton was made Lord Chancellor, and continued in this office, and in the unabated confidence of the King, for thirteen years, until his death in 1500. "Although he appeared merely to execute the measures of the King, he was in reality the chief author of the system for controlling the power of the great feudal barons, and he may be considered the model, as he was the precursor, of Cardinal Richelieu, who in a later age accomplished the same object still more effectually in France." Archbishop Morton, however, encouraged the "indefinite exactions miscalled benevolences" from which Henry reaped no small profit; and he is "famous for the dilemma which he proposed to merchants and others whom he solicited to contribute. He told those who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those, again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign. This piece of logic, unanswerable in the mouth of a privy councillor, acquired the name of 'Morton's forks.'"

Cardinal Morton procured from Alexander VI. the ca-

[†] Lord Campbell's Chancellors, i. 414.

[‡] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. i.

nonization of his great predecessor, St. Anselm. He died at Knowle (Sept. 1500), and his tomb, constructed during his lifetime, remains in the crypt of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § XL.) His portrait has thus been drawn in the introduction to the "Utopia," by Sir Thomas More, who knew him well:—"He was of a middle stature, in advanced years, but not broken by age; his aspect begot reverence rather than fear. He sometimes took pleasure to try the mental qualities of those who came as suitors to him on business, by speaking briskly though decorously to them, and thereby discovered their spirit and self-command; and he was much delighted with a display of energy, so that it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temperament, and best fitting men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and mightily; he was eminently skilled in the law; he had a comprehensive understanding, and a very retentive memory; and the excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and discipline."

[A.D. 1501—Feb. 15, 1503—HENRY VII.] HENRY DEAN was translated from Salisbury, after Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, who had first been elected, had died of the plague before his translation could be effected. Dean himself, who had been translated from Bangor to Salisbury, and to whom the Great Seal was committed (but with the title of Lord Keeper only) on the death of Archbishop Morton, died at Lambeth within a year of his elevation. He was buried at Canterbury in the transept of the Martyrdom. No monument remains.

[A.D. 1503—Aug. 23, 1532—HENRY VII., HENRY VIII.] WILLIAM WARHAM, born at Okely, near Basingstoke, of a good Hampshire family, was educated at Winchester and at New College. His first patron was Archbishop Morton, who recommended him to Henry VII., by whom he was sent on a mission to the court of Burgundy to remonstrate against the countenance given by the Duchess Margaret,

sister of Edward IV., to the pretended Duke of York, Perkin Warbeck. On his return, Warham was made Master of the Rolls and Bishop of London, and in 1503 was translated to Canterbury. His installation feast was one of the most magnificent on record, (see Pt. I. § Lrv.) The Great Seal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was given to Warham when Bishop of London, immediately on the death of Archbishop Dean. He retained it (as Lord Chancellor after his elevation to the primacy) until 1515, when the plotting of Wolsey compelled him to resign.

As Archbishop, Warham placed the crown on the head of Henry VIII., against whose marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, he protested from the first. Great jealousy existed between the Archbishop and Wolsey, who coveted the possession of the Great Seal, which Warham long retained in spite of him, and whose legatine authority interfered with the legitimate supremacy of the Primate. Warham retired from the court, after his resignation of the Great Seal in 1515, but was still exposed to the insults of Wolsey until the fall of the Cardinal in 1527. The Archbishop, however, never returned to the court of Henry. Although he had given it as his opinion that the original papal dispensation for the King's marriage was *ultra vires*, and that he was entitled to a divorce, Warham, foreseeing the great changes that were impending, had embraced the side of the "old religion," and had in effect shewn himself opposed to the divorce, unless with the full consent of the Pope. He passed his latter years at his different Kentish palaces, on the repairs of many of which he spent large sums, occupied with the duties of his diocese, and with literature, of which he shewed himself an enlightened patron. Shortly before his death he gave, as did others of his party, some countenance to the famous Nun of Kent, Elizabeth Barton. He died, happily for himself, since he thus escaped the evils to which More and Fisher were soon afterwards exposed, Aug. 23, 1532,

at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury. On his death-bed he asked what money there was in his coffers, and being told thirty pounds, replied, "Satis viatici ad cœlum." His tomb remains in the transept of the Martyrdom, (Pt. I. § xx.)

Archbishop Warham had early contracted a friendship with Erasmus, whom he induced to visit England, and upon whom he bestowed the living of Aldingbourn in Kent. Erasmus dedicated to the Archbishop his edition of St. Jerome; and in a letter written shortly after Warham's death, having described his occupation as Chancellor and Archbishop, he proceeds to give the following picture of him: "His only relaxation was pleasant reading, or discoursing with a man of learning. Although he had bishops, dukes, and earls at his table, his dinners never lasted above an hour. He appeared in splendid robes becoming his station; but his tastes were exceedingly simple. He rarely suffered wine to touch his lips; and when he was turned of seventy his usual beverage was small beer (*perennuœm cerevisiam quam illi biriam vocant*), which he drank very sparingly. But while he himself abstained from almost everything at table, yet so cheerful was his countenance and so festive his talk, that he enlivened and charmed all who were present . . . He made it a rule to abstain entirely from supper. . . . He shunned indecency and slander as one would a serpent. So this illustrious man made the day, the shortness of which many allege as a pretext for their idleness, long enough for all the various public and private duties he had to perform."

[A.D. 1533—1556—HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY.]

THOMAS CRANMER, the successor of Warham, is to be regarded as the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. He would only consent to accept the archbishopric as coming immediately from the King, without any kind of papal intervention; and both before and at the time of his consecration, made a solemn protest against any interpretation

of the oaths he was about to take, which should be opposed to his obedience to the King, to the laws of England, or to his support of the Reformation.

Cranmer was born in the year 1489, of a good and ancient family, at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Jesus College. In 1529, whilst the plague was raging at Cambridge, Cranmer retired with two of his pupils to Waltham Abbey in Essex, where he accidentally met Fox and Gardiner, the King's almoner and secretary. To them Cranmer declared his opinion that the great question of the royal divorce, then in full agitation, might far better be decided "by the divines of the universities of Christendom upon the authority of God's Word," than by any appeal to the Pope. Henry, weary of his long negotiations with Pope Clement VII., pronounced that "the man had the sow by the right ear," sent for Cranmer to court, made him his chaplain, and placed him in the family of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire, father of the future Queen, with orders to write upon the subject of the divorce. Cranmer did so, and was afterwards made Archdeacon of Taunton.

In 1530, Cranmer accompanied the Earl of Wiltshire on his embassy to the papal court. His book was presented to Clement, and he offered to maintain its assertions in public, but found no opponent. The Pope at this time made him his Penitentiary throughout England, Ireland, and Wales. "Only to stay his stomach for that time," says Fuller, "in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment." This, however, he did not propose to himself. From Bologna, where he had found the Pope, he passed into Germany, and there married the niece of Osiander, who, like himself, had written in favour of the divorce. He was still absent in 1532, when the death of Archbishop Warham occurred; and was not himself consecrated Archbishop until March in the following year. The

Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph officiated at the ceremony.

As Archbishop, Cranmer pronounced (May 23, 1533) the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine, and on the 25th of the same month the King was secretly married to Anne Boleyn, by Dr. Rowland Lee, one of his chaplains. It was Cranmer who placed the crown on the head of the new Queen, and who baptized her daughter Elizabeth, being at the same time one of her sponsors. After the trial of Anne Boleyn he pronounced in turn that marriage void, and acted as confessor to the unhappy queen during her imprisonment in the Tower. Throughout his episcopate, Cranmer, the first married Primate, vigorously supported the reforming party. In the year 1537 he assisted in compiling the book entitled "The Godly and Pious Institute of a Christian Man," which was revised by the King, and is the first English book "set forth by authority" in which the doctrines of the Reformation were at all advanced. In 1539 Cranmer was one of the commissioners "for inspecting into matters of religion," and in the same year protested against the act, said to have been drawn up by Gardiner, called that of "the six bloody articles," one of which expressly forbade the marriage of priests. On this occasion he sent back his wife and children into Germany. In the Parliament of 1544 he procured an act moderating the rigour of the six articles. In 1545 the opposite party, led by Gardiner, accused him of heresy, especially in the matter of the Sacrament of the Altar; and Cranmer would probably have fallen at this time, had not Henry himself protected him:—

"The Archbishop
Is the King's hand and tongue; and who dare speak
One syllable against him^b."

In spite of his having more than once opposed the King's

^b King Hen. VIII., act v. sc. 1.

wishes, Henry befriended Cranmer throughout his life, and sent for him to attend his death-bed.

An entire revolution had taken place at Canterbury since the elevation of Cranmer to the primacy. In April, 1538, (see Pt. I. § XXVII.,) the remarkable summons to Archbishop Becket had been read by the side of the shrine, and in August of the same year the shrine itself was destroyed, and its numberless jewels removed by the royal commissioners under Dr. Leyton. On March 30, 1539, the great monastery of Christ Church was finally dissolved, and the new establishment, consisting of a dean and twelve canons, was placed in full possession of the cathedral and the conventual buildings.

By the will of Henry VIII. Cranmer was appointed one of the regents of the kingdom, and one of the executors of the will itself. The Archbishop crowned Edward VI. (Feb. 20, 1546), to whom, as well as to Elizabeth, he had been godfather. Throughout the short reign of Edward he was earnest in advancing the Reformation. The six articles were repealed, the Communion in both kinds was established, and in 1548 the first "Book of Common Prayer" was set forth, which was "reviewed" in 1551, reprinted with alterations, and authorized by Parliament in 1552.

On the death-bed of Edward, Cranmer signed the King's will, in which he appointed Lady Jane Grey his successor. Immediately on the accession of Mary he was ordered to appear before the council, and within a month (Sept. 13, 1553) was committed to the Tower. On the 3rd of November he was pronounced guilty of high treason, but was pardoned on this ground, and it was determined that he should be proceeded against as a heretic. In April, 1554, he was sent to Oxford with Ridley and Latimer, and a public disputation was held between them and the opposite party. They remained in prison at Oxford for nearly two years, and the Archbishop was condemned as a heretic

by two successive commissions. In February, 1554, he was degraded and deprived. His fellow martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered in the previous September; and it is said that Cranmer, during their last agony, went up to the roof of his prison (called the Bocardo), near the tower of St. Michael's Church, in the Cornmarket, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees with outspread hands prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope. Cranmer's well-known recantation was signed after his deprivation, but did not save his life. On the 21st of March, 1554, he was brought to St. Mary's, and placed on a kind of stage opposite the pulpit. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, preached; and Cranmer afterwards made his solemn confession of faith, renouncing altogether the recantation his "unworthy right hand" had signed. That hand he declared should first suffer punishment. From the church he was hurried to the place of execution, opposite Balliol College, and after stretching his hand into the flame and holding it there until it was consumed, died "keeping his eyes fixed to heaven, and repeating 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'" It is said that his heart was found entire among the ashes.

The remaining works of Archbishop Cranmer have been collected and published in 4 vols. 8vo., by Dr. Jenkyns (Oxford, 1833). His life belongs so completely to the history of his time, that in order to be followed with any accuracy it must be studied in immediate connection with that. Its latter portion should be read in the admirable narrative of Mr. Froude (*History of England*, vols. v. vi.) Very important materials for a life of Cranmer, rather than a true biography, were collected by Strype (*Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, 2 vols. 8vo.), and other lives have been published by Archdeacon Todd (2 vols. 8vo., London, 1831), and by the Rev. C. W. Le Bas (2 vols. 12mo., London, 1833). A life is also prefixed to the edition of his works by Dr. Jenkyns. The narrative of

his martyrdom will be found in Foxe, and extracts from it in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography."

[A.D. 1556—1558—MARY.] REGINALD POLE, the successor of Cranmer, was a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, Lord Montague, and Margaret, daughter of George Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. Reginald was thus nearly connected with Henry VIII. He was born in the year 1500, at Somerton Castle, in Worcestershire, and was educated by the Carthusians of Shene, and at Magdalen College, Oxford. At a very early age he was ordained deacon, and in 1517 was made Prebendary of Salisbury. Before he was nineteen he received the deanery of Exeter and some other preferments, in addition to which a large yearly pension was assigned him by the King. On leaving Oxford, Pole visited the Universities of France and Italy, spent some time at Padua and Venice, and returned to England in 1525.

The conduct of Reginald Pole during the discussion of the King's divorce cannot be detailed here. After Henry had in vain attempted to gain his support, he was permitted to withdraw, still retaining his pension, first to Avignon and then to Padua, where he wrote the remarkable treatise *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*, a copy of which he sent to Henry, and which was afterwards, in 1536, published at Rome. In this book the King's supremacy was altogether denied, and Pole, recollecting the fate of More and Fisher, refused to return to England when sent for by the King. His pension was accordingly withdrawn, he was deprived of all his English dignities, and an act of attainder was passed against him.

In December, 1537, Reginald Pole was compelled, very unwillingly, to accept a cardinal's hat. There is reason to believe that his objections arose from a hope which he had long entertained of becoming the husband of the Princess Mary, and of thus placing himself on the English throne. In the following year occurred the Northern rebellion,

called the Pilgrimage of Grace; and Pole, with the title of Legate beyond the Alps, was sent into Flanders to communicate with and assist the rebels. The rebellion, however, was suppressed before he reached Liege; and although he opened communications with the disaffected, he found that nothing could be accomplished. His elder brother, Lord Montague, who had shared in the Cardinal's treason, was now executed; and, after the second rising, in 1541, his mother, the venerable Countess of Salisbury. There can be little doubt that Cardinal Pole, not impossibly with a view to the English crown, had kept up the disaffection in the North to the utmost of his ability.

Pole remained in Italy until the death of Edward VI., in July, 1553. Upon the accession of Mary, after the question of his marriage had been again discussed, and set aside by the influence of the Emperor, Charles V., he was appointed Legate for England, where he arrived in Nov. 1554. Cranmer was at this time in prison, and the Legate was installed in the palace at Lambeth. As Legate he absolved the Parliament, and made a solemn entry into London. On the 22nd of March, 1554, the day after the execution of Cranmer, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

For the next three years the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs in England rested with Pole, who beyond a doubt assented to the religious persecutions which disgraced the reign of Mary, although it may be true that he did not urge them on. The Cardinal was deprived of his legatine powers, however, and accused as a "suspected heretic" by the Pope, Paul IV. (Peter Caraffa), who had opposed him in Italy, and who had desired the elevation of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to the primacy, instead of Pole. The Archbishop made complete submission, and was again appointed Legate, but only a short time before his death. This occurred Nov. 18, 1558. Queen Mary herself died the day before. Both the Queen and the Arch-

bishop died of an epidemic fever then general throughout England.

Cardinal Pole was buried in the 'corona' at Canterbury (Pt. I. § xxxii.), where his tomb remains. He was the last Archbishop of Canterbury buried in his own cathedral, (see Pt. I. § xxiv., note.)

[A.D. Dec. 1559 — May 1575 — ELIZABETH.] MATTHEW PARKER, the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, but the first of the uninterrupted succession, was born of a good family at Norwich, in 1504, and educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Here his learning and abilities were so conspicuous that Wolsey invited him to become a fellow of his newly-established college at Oxford. This he declined, perhaps on account of his leaning toward the "new religion," of which he became a zealous supporter. He was appointed, however, preacher at Court and at St. Paul's Cross, and in 1533 was made chaplain to Anne Boleyn, who recommended her daughter Elizabeth to his especial care and instruction. After the Queen's death, Parker continued chaplain to Henry VIII., and afterwards to Edward VI., and became Master of his College at Cambridge, for which he compiled a new book of statutes. Edward VI. made him Dean of Lincoln, and in this reign he did good service by venturing into the camp of the rebels under Kett in Norfolk, and there exhorting them "to temperance, moderation, and submission." Under Queen Mary he was, as a married priest, deprived of all his preferments, and remained in obscurity until the accession of Elizabeth, who raised him to the primacy. He was elected, in due form, by the new "chapter" of Canterbury.

Parker was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, by Barlow, Edward the Sixth's Bishop of Bath and Wells; by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and by Scory, Bishop of Hereford. "When the ceremony of the confirmation" [at the Court of Arches, which took place on

the day before (?) the consecration] "was over, the Vicar-General, the Dean of the Arches, and other officers of that court, were entertained at the 'Nag's Head Tavern' in Cheapside. This treat gave occasion to the senseless story of the 'Nag's Head' consecration¹,"—a story which, it need hardly be said, has been so effectually disproved that the most unscrupulous Romanist would hardly now venture to assert its truth.

As Archbishop, Parker shewed himself one of the most prudent Churchmen of his time. His views of public affairs both in Church and State were wide and far reaching, and it is probable that no other member of the English hierarchy would have filled the metropolitical see so well during the difficult years which succeeded the accession of Elizabeth. He directed that great caution should be observed in administering the oath of supremacy to those of the clergy who still favoured the "old religion," and if he displayed a severer temper in his dealings with the Puritans, it must be remembered that religious toleration, as we now understand it, was then altogether unthought of on either side; and that the Archbishop clearly saw the dangers to which the teaching of such men as Cartwright was necessarily tending. "He was a *Parker* indeed," says Fuller, "careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline against all such night stealers as would invade the same²." He was himself not a little troubled by the Queen's dislike of a married clergy—especially by the injunction sent by Cecil to the Archbishop in August 1561, forbidding "all heads and members of any college or cathedral church, to have their wives or any other women within the precincts of such places." Parker remonstrated, but in vain. It was after this injunction that Elizabeth, who had been entertained by the Archbishop at Lambeth, took leave of his wife with the remarkable courtesy, "*Madam* [the style

¹ Collier, bk. vi. See also Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 3.

² Fuller, Ch. Hist., bk. ix. § 3.

of a married lady] I may not call you; *Mistress* [then the appellation of an unmarried woman] I am loth to call you. However, I thank you for your good cheer."

The "table of prohibited degrees in marriage," still printed at the end of the Prayer-book, and formerly hung up in every church, was drawn up by Archbishop Parker. His treatise *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, is still a book of some value; and he published for the first time the Chronicles of Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, and Walsingham, besides the Anglo-Saxon Gospels. The Archbishop was an active patron of learning and of art, "entertaining in his palaces, bookbinders, engravers, and painters, and those who wrote fine hands and understood drawing and illuminating¹." He died at Lambeth, May 7, 1575. According to his own desire, his bowels were deposited in an urn in Lambeth Church, where his wife had been interred. His body was placed in the tomb which he had constructed for himself, near the south side of the altar in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. This tomb was levelled by a Colonel Scott, one of the purchasers of the palace during the civil war, who converted the chapel into a "hall or dancing room." The Archbishop's body was then thrown into one of the outhouses. It was re-interred in the chapel by Archbishop Sancroft, who placed over it a marble slab, with this inscription, "*Corpus Matthæi archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.*" In the picture gallery of Lambeth is a good portrait of Archbishop Parker, painted by Richard Lyne, one of the artists whom he retained in his establishment.

[A.D. 1576—1583—ELIZABETH.] EDMUND GRINDALL, "a prelate most primitive in all his conversation," says Fuller, was translated from York to Canterbury. He was born at St. Bees in Cumberland, and was educated at Cambridge, where he became Master of Pembroke Hall. Through Bishop Ridley he was made one of Edward the Sixth's

¹ Collier.

chaplains, and would have been raised to the bishopric of London but for the King's death. He remained in Germany during the troubles of Queen Mary's reign, and on the accession of Elizabeth became the first Protestant Bishop of London. Thence he was removed to York in 1570, and in 1575 was nominated to the primacy.

Grindall, probably from his continental experience, was far more disposed to regard the Puritans with favour than his predecessor had shewn himself. He steadily refused to forbid the 'prophesyings' or meetings of the clergy for discussing the meaning of Scripture, to which Elizabeth so greatly objected; and was in consequence sequestered from his jurisdiction for nearly the whole period of his archiepiscopate. He became blind before his death, and proposed to resign the primacy. Before, however, the matter was determined, Archbishop Grindall died at his palace of Croydon, July 6, 1583. He was interred in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, remains.

[A.D. 1583—1604—ELIZABETH, JAMES I.] JOHN WHITGIFT, according to Fuller, "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy," was of a very different temper from his predecessor. He belonged to an ancient family long settled at Whitgift in Yorkshire, but was himself born, in 1530, at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Cambridge, where John Bradford the martyr, then a Fellow of Pembroke, was his tutor. His reputation soon became considerable, and about the year 1565, after preaching before the Queen, he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains. In 1567 he became Master of Pembroke Hall, and in the same year Master of Trinity. At this time he distinguished himself by an answer to Cartwright's "Admonition," "written," says Mr. Hallam, "with much ability, but not falling short of the work it undertook to confute in rudeness and asperity^m." Whit-

^m Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. iv.

gift's "asperity," however, was by no means displeasing to Elizabeth, who made him, in 1573, Dean of Lincoln, and in 1576 Bishop of Worcester. Had Grindall resigned the primacy, as the Queen was anxious he should do, Whitgift was the prelate who was destined to fill his place. He refused, however, to accept it during the lifetime of Grindall, and it was not until after his death in 1583 that Whitgift was translated to Canterbury.

The asperity of Whitgift towards the Puritans became still more marked after his elevation, which "the wisest of Elizabeth's counsellors had ample reason to regret." He insisted that every minister of the Church should subscribe to three points: the Queen's supremacy, the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and Ordination services, and the truth of the whole Thirty-nine Articles. It is possible that the law had already required subscription to all these points, but it had hitherto been evaded; and "the kingdom now resounded with the clamour of those who were suspended or deprived of their benefices, and of their numerous abettors." The manner in which the Archbishop called into action one of the powers of the High Commission Court, by tendering the oath *ex officio* (binding the taker to answer all questions that should be put to him), was especially remonstrated against by Lord Burleigh, who declared that the articles of examination were "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preys." In spite, or rather in consequence, of these extreme measures, the famous libels which were published under the name of "Martin Marprelate," began to appear in 1588, and in 1590 the Puritans attempted to set up their "platform of government by synods and classes," which was, in effect, an overt act of revolution. The dissatisfaction was by no

* Hallam, Const. Hist., (vol. i. ch. iv. p. 199, ed. 1855.)

• Ibid.

means appeared on the accession of James, who, on his way to London, rejected a petition for a due consideration of their position signed by more than 1,000 of the more Puritanical clergy. The Archbishop, who is said to have dreaded the discussions which were expected to follow on the meeting of the King's first Parliament, died at Lambeth, Feb. 29, 160₇, before it had assembled. Elizabeth had constantly called him "her little black husband," "which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour."

Whitgift was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his monument remains. "Bishop Babington, his pupil, made his funeral sermon, choosing for his text 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16; and paralleling the Archbishop's life with gracious Jehoiada." The school and hospital founded by him in the town of Croydon still bear witness of his liberality.

[A.D. 1604—1610—JAMES I.] RICHARD BANCROFT carried forward the severe measures of his predecessor with yet more vigour and "asperity." He was born near Manchester in 1545, and educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Through the influence of Sir Christopher Hatton he was made one of Elizabeth's chaplains, and afterwards became Bishop of London, whence he was translated to Canterbury in 1604. He was, in Fuller's words, "a most stout champion to assert Church discipline, most stiff and stern to press conformity," inculcating the King's absolute power beyond the law, endeavouring to establish episcopacy in Scotland, and prosecuting the Puritans with more severity than they had experienced even under Elizabeth. Many were deprived of their benefices, many driven into exile. Bancroft, however, like his successor Laud, interfered to stop some who were setting out for Virginia. The Archbishop died at Lambeth Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1610—1633—JAMES I., CHARLES I.] GEORGE ABBOT

† Fuller, Church Hist., bk. x. § 2.

‡ Ibid.

was one of that "happy ternion of brothers," as Fuller calls them (the other two were Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Maurice, who became Lord Mayor of London), born at Guildford in Surrey of humble parents. Their father was a cloth-worker, and, with his wife, had been in trouble during the Marian persecutions. George was educated at the Guildford free school, and at Balliol College, Oxford. He subsequently became Master of University College, and in 1604 was one of the divines appointed to assist in the translation of "King James's Bible." The four Gospels and the Acts were entrusted to Abbot. He was afterwards made chaplain to the Earl of Dunbar, with whom he went to Scotland, and there aided in establishing a union between the Scottish and English Churches. The King was greatly pleased with his conduct on this occasion, and in 1609 made him Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Within a month he was translated to London, and on the death of Bancroft, in Nov. 1610, Abbot was raised to the primacy.

As Archbishop, Abbot displayed a very different temper from that of his predecessor. He "connived to a limited extent at some irregularities of discipline in the Puritanical clergy, judging, not absurdly, that their scruples at a few ceremonies, which had been aggravated by a vexatious rigour, would die away by degrees . . . His hatred to Popery and zeal for Calvinism, which undoubtedly were narrow and intolerant, as well as his avowed disapprobation of those Churchmen who preached up arbitrary power, gained for this prelate the favour of the party denominated Puritan^r." For these reasons, as well as for his integrity, which is admitted on all sides, Abbot was obnoxious to the courtiers, as well as to theologians of the school of Laud; and when, in 1621, during a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramshill in Hampshire, the Archbishop accidentally killed a keeper with a barbed arrow,—“a great perplexity to the

^r Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii.

good man, and a heavy knell to his aged spirit;”—it was not without considerable discussion, nor until after a temporary retirement in the hospital which he had founded at Guildford, that he was restored to his archiepiscopal functions. In 1627 Abbot refused to license a sermon preached by Dr. Sibthorpe, affirming the King's right to tax his subjects without their consent, and was compelled, by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, to withdraw to his palace of Ford, near Canterbury. He was soon recalled, but never rose high in the favour of Charles I., at whose coronation he had assisted together with Laud. Archbishop Abbot died at Croydon August 5, 1633, and was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where his elaborate tomb and effigy still remain.

The “morose manners and very sour countenance” of Abbot are insisted on by Clarendon. “Gravity,” says Fuller, speaking of the brothers, “did frown in George and smile in Robert.” At Guildford he founded a stately hospital for twelve brethren and eight sisters, on the gates and windows of which the three golden pears on his shield, and the motto “*Clamamus Abba pater*,”—referring to his name,—may still be admired. In the chapel is his portrait.

[A.D. 1633—1645.—CHARLES I.] WILLIAM LAUD, the famous successor of Abbot, was born at Reading in 1573. His father was a wealthy clothier, and the future archbishop was educated at the free school of his native town, and at St. John's, Oxford, of which college he became a Fellow. At the University he early distinguished himself by his strong opposition to the Puritans, and by his support of that peculiar school of theology with which his name has ever since been connected. Laud's first patrons were Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, and Richard Neile, Bishop of Rochester, the latter of whom supported him against the ill-will of Archbishop Abbot, who endeavoured

• Fuller.

to prevent the confirmation of his election as President of St. John's. James I., however, on Bishop Neile's representation, confirmed his election (May 1611), and made him one of his chaplains. In 1616 Laud became Dean of Gloucester, and attended the King to Scotland in the following year, when fresh attempts were made to assimilate the Churches of the two kingdoms. In 1620 Laud was made Bishop of St. David's, and resigned the Presidentship of his college in consequence. He still held, however, many livings which from time to time had been bestowed upon him, from each of which he gave twelve poor persons a constant allowance. In 1622 he held his well-known conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the Duke of Buckingham and his mother, both of whom were, or at least professed to be, inclined to Romanism. From this time Buckingham became one of Laud's special patrons, and after the coronation of Charles I. (Feb. 2, 1629), at which Laud acted as Dean of Westminster, in room of Williams, then in disgrace, the influence of Laud became all-powerful at Court.

In 1626 Laud was translated from St. David's to Bath and Wells, and thence in 1628 to London. He had already been made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and a member of the Privy Council. In 1630 he was elected Chancellor of Oxford. In 1633 he accompanied Charles I. to Scotland, and was sworn a Privy Councillor of that kingdom. On the death of Abbot, in the same year, he was elevated to the Primacy. It is said that on the morning of his appointment (Aug. 4) an offer of a Cardinal's hat reached him from Rome, and was subsequently repeated. On both occasions he declared "that he could not suffer that till Rome were other than it is."

The career of Laud as Archbishop belongs so completely to the history of his time that it need not be detailed here. The prosecutions for nonconformity were revived with the utmost strictness; new ecclesiastical ceremonies, especially

distasteful to the Calvinistic party, were introduced; and all possible means were used for silencing the opposite party. The severities of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, which were laid to the charge of the Archbishop, contributed not a little toward the outbreak of the rebellion. Laud, who had never been popular, became utterly hated, not only by the whole body of the Puritans, but by many of the English nobility, and by the entire Scottish nation. In May, 1639, a body of 5,000 apprentices attacked his palace at Lambeth, but the Archbishop had removed to Whitehall, and thus escaped their violence. In the Parliament of 1640 a committee was appointed to enquire into all his actions, and he was impeached of high treason. On the first of March, 1642, he was conveyed to the Tower to be "kept safe" until the articles against him should be proved.

In the Tower the unfortunate Archbishop remained until January 1642. Various charges were brought against him from time to time, and numerous fines were imposed on him. Before the end of 1641 the rents and profits of the archbishopric were sequestered by the Lords for the use of the Commonwealth. In 1643 his furniture and books at Lambeth were seized, sold, or destroyed. In March, 1642, his trial, which lasted twenty days, commenced. No charge of high treason could be legally established, and a bill of attainder was at length passed (January 1642). On the tenth of that month, Laud, now aged 71, was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was interred in the church of All Hallows, Barking, London; but after the Restoration his remains were removed to the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

The conduct of Archbishop Laud has of course been very differently judged by different parties, and probably, like the civil war itself, will always remain a disputed question. The decision of Lord Macaulay, that he was "a poor creature, who never did, said, or wrote anything indicating

more than the ordinary capacity of an old woman," and the assertion of Clarendon, that "his learning, piety, and virtue have been attained by very few, whilst the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best of men," need neither of them perhaps be received as final. At Oxford, Laud built the greater part of the inner quadrangle of St. John's, and gave to the University a large collection of very important MSS. in various languages.

The archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury was pillaged and fell into a ruined state under the Puritan rule, and on the Restoration an act was passed dispensing the Archbishops from restoring it. From this time they have had no official residence in Canterbury.

[A.D. 1660—1663—CHARLES II.] WILLIAM JUXON, best remembered from his having attended Charles I. on the scaffold, was born at Chichester, and educated at St. John's College, Oxford, where he attracted the notice of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1621 he became President of St. John's, and was made successively Dean of Worcester, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., Bishop of Hereford, and in October, 1633, Bishop of London. In 1635, by the interest of the Archbishop, Juxon was made Lord Treasurer, a dignity which no Churchman had held since the reign of Henry VII., "and a troublesome place in those times," says Fuller, "it being expected that he should make much brick, though not altogether without, yet with very little, straw allowed unto him[†]." The appointment gave much offence, yet "Juxon redeemed the scandal of it by an unblemished probity, and gave so little offence in this invidious greatness, that the Long Parliament never attacked him, and he remained in his palace at Fulham without molestation till 1647[‡]." This is the last instance in which any one of the great offices of state has been filled by a Churchman.

[†] Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

[‡] Hallam, Const. Hist., ch. viii. (note.)

"It was not the least part of this prelate's honour," says Fuller, "that among the many worthy bishops of our land, King Charles the First selected him for his confessor at his martyrdom. He formerly had had experience, in the case of the Earl of Strafford, that this bishop's conscience was bottomed on piety, not policy; the reason that from him he received the Sacrament, good comfort, and counsell, just before he was murdered*." It was to Juxon that the King delivered his George on the scaffold, with the mysterious word, "Remember." On the Restoration Juxon became Archbishop of Canterbury (Sept. 1660), and died three years afterwards (June 1663). He was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford.

[A.D. 1663—1677—CHARLES II.] GILBERT SHELDON, born of a good Staffordshire family, was educated at Oxford, where he became Fellow and Warden of All Souls' College. He was a warm supporter of the King during the civil war, and was one of the royal chaplains sent for to attend the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. When the Parliamentary commissioners visited Oxford, Sheldon was deprived of his Wardenship, and, together with Dr. Hammond, imprisoned for six months. The reforming committee, however, set him at liberty on condition that he should never come within five miles of Oxford, and that he should not go to the King in the Isle of Wight. Sheldon retired accordingly into Derbyshire, where he remained until the Restoration. He then recovered his Wardenship, was made Master of the Savoy and Dean of the Chapel Royal (in which capacity he preached before the King at Whitehall on the day of solemn thanksgiving, June 28, 1660), and on Juxon's translation to Canterbury became Bishop of London (October 1660). In the following year Sheldon assisted at the Savoy conference—so called from its having been held at his lodgings in the Savoy hospital,—in which the whole question of the Liturgy was discussed

* Fuller, Worthies—Sussex.

between the Presbyterian and Episcopal divines. In 1663 he succeeded Juxon in the primacy, and in 1667 was elected Chancellor of Oxford, in the room of Clarendon. He had already given £1,000 toward the building of the Theatre at Oxford, and finding that no other contributors came forward, he took on himself the whole expense of its erection, amounting to about £14,000. The Sheldonian Theatre is an early work of Sir Christopher Wren. Within it is a portrait of the Archbishop, and his statue appears on the exterior.

Archbishop Sheldon gave much offence at Court by his open condemnation of the King's manner of life; and in 1669 he retired to his palace at Croydon, where he spent the greater part of his time until his death in 1677. He was buried in the parish church of Croydon, where his tomb, with effigy, still remains.

[A.D. 1678—deprived 1691—CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM AND MARY.] WILLIAM SANCROFT was born at Fressingfield in Suffolk, in 1616, and educated at St. Edmundsbury and at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Emmanuel College. He lost his fellowship in 1649 when he refused to take the "engagement," and remained on the Continent until the restoration of Charles II. He then returned to England and became chaplain to Bishop Cosin, who, in the Convocation of 1660, was one of the bishops appointed for the revision of the Prayer-book. In this final revision of the Common Prayer, Sancroft took a very active part, and he was chosen by the Convocation to superintend the printing of the book⁷. In 1662 he became Master of Emmanuel College, and after holding in succession the deaneries of York and St. Paul's (toward the rebuilding of which latter cathedral he greatly assisted), and the archdeaconry of Canterbury, he was raised to the primacy by Charles II. in January 1674. He attended the

⁷ See Procter's Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer, pp. 136—138.

deathbed of that king, on which occasion he is said to have used "great freedom." His conduct throughout the reign of James has been amply commented upon in the pages of Macaulay. He was at the head of the bishops who presented the famous petition to the King in 1688, and with them was committed to the Tower, tried, and acquitted. In the subsequent revolution Burnet declares that "he acted a very mean part," resolving "neither to act for nor against the King's [William's] interest, which, considering his high post, was thought very unbecoming." The Archbishop declined, however, to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary after they were settled on the throne, conceiving himself still bound by his former oath to James II. He and eight other bishops were accordingly suspended (Aug. 1, 1689), and deprived (Feb. 1, 1690). But Archbishop Sancroft would not leave Lambeth until ejected by law, when he retired to Fresingfield, his birthplace, where he had an estate of £50 a-year, which had been in the possession of his ancestors for three centuries. Here he died, Nov. 24, 1693, and was buried in Fresingfield churchyard.

[A.D. 1691—1694—WILLIAM AND MARY.] JOHN TILLOTSON was born at Sowerby in Yorkshire, in Oct. 1630. His parents were decided Puritans, but their son was educated at Cambridge, where he reckoned among his friends Cudworth, More, and Wilkins, the eccentric bishop of Chester. Tillotson had embraced the doctrines of the Presbyterians during the Protectorate, but on the Restoration submitted to the Act of Uniformity, and became curate of Cheshunt in Herts. In 1663 he was presented to the rectory of Keddington in Suffolk, which he resigned soon afterwards on being chosen Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. In the following year he was appointed Lecturer at St. Lawrence, Jewry. His great reputation as a preacher was already established when in 1670 he was made a Prebendary of Canterbury, of which cathedral in 1672 he became Dean. After the Revo-

lution Tillotson was admitted to the most intimate confidence both of William and Mary. In Sept., 1689, he was made Dean of St. Paul's, and after Sancroft's deprivation was consecrated Archbishop, May 31, 1691. He accepted the primacy with very great reluctance, and held it little more than three years, dying at Lambeth Nov. 24, 1694. He was buried in the church of St. Lawrence, Jewry, where his most celebrated sermons had been preached.

As a theologian, Tillotson was undoubtedly one of the most latitudinarian of his time. "As a preacher, he was thought by his contemporaries to have surpassed all rivals living or dead. Posterity has reversed this judgment. Yet Tillotson still keeps his place as a legitimate English classic. His highest flights were indeed far below those of Taylor, of Barrow, and of South; but his oratory was more correct and equable than theirs. . . . His reasoning was just sufficiently profound and sufficiently refined to be followed by a popular audience with that slight degree of intellectual exertion which is a pleasure The greatest charm of his compositions is derived from the benignity and candour which appear in every line, and which shone forth not less conspicuously in his life than in his writings."

There is a portrait of Archbishop Tillotson in the gallery at Lambeth. "He was the first prelate," says Lyons, "who wore a wig, which was then not unlike the natural hair, and worn without powder." The best and fullest account of Tillotson will be found in his *Life* by Dr. Birch.

[A.D. 1695—1715—WILLIAM AND MARY, ANNE.] THOMAS TENISON was born at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire in 1636, and educated at Cambridge. After becoming eminent as a preacher in London, he was made Archdeacon of

* Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, iii. 469. Tillotson's MS. sermons were purchased after his death "for the almost incredible sum of 2,500 guineas, equivalent, in the wretched state in which the silver coin then was, to at least £3,600. Such a price had never before been given in England for any copyright."—*Macaulay*, iv. p. 525.

London by King William, who raised him to the see of Lincoln in 1691, and on the death of Tillotson translated him to Canterbury. The choice was generally approved. "Dr. Tenison," says Kennet, "had been exemplary in every station of his life, had restored a neglected large diocese to some discipline and good order, and had before, in the office of a parochial minister, done as much good as perhaps was possible for any one man to do*."

Archbishop Tenison died at Lambeth Dec. 14, 1715, and was buried in the parish church there.

[A.D. 1716—1737—GEORGE I., GEORGE II.] WILLIAM WAKE, born in Dorsetshire in 1657, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, became Dean of Exeter in 1700, Bishop of Lincoln in 1705, and in 1715 Archbishop of Canterbury. Wake was a prelate of considerable learning, and took an active part in the controversy with Atterbury concerning the rights of Convocation, besides publishing many theological works, some of which are still of importance. He died at Lambeth Jan. 24, 1737, and was buried in the parish church of Croydon.

[A.D. 1737—1747.—GEORGE II.] JOHN POTTER, son of a linen-draper at Wakefield in Yorkshire, was educated at University College, Oxford, but afterwards became Fellow of Lincoln. In 1697 he published at Oxford an edition of *Lycophron*, and in that and the following year appeared his well-known "Antiquities of Greece," to which Gronovius gave a place in the twelfth volume of his *Thesaurus Antiq. Græcar.*, published in 1702. In 1715 Potter was made Bishop of Oxford, and was elevated to the primacy in 1737. "He was," says one of his biographers, "a learned and exemplary divine, but of a character by no means amiable, being strongly tinctured with a kind of haughtiness and severity of manners." He died in 1747, and was buried in the parish church at Croydon.

[A.D. 1747—1757—GEORGE II.] THOMAS HERRING was translated to Canterbury from York. He died at Croydon,

* Hist. of England.

where he had lived in complete retirement for more than four years before his death, having never recovered from a fever which attacked him in 1753. He was buried in the parish church there, and was the last archbishop who resided in the archiepiscopal palace at Croydon.

[A.D. 1757—1758—GEORGE II.] MATTHEW HUTTON, translated from York like his predecessor, was buried in the parish church of Lambeth. His portrait by Hudson is in the Lambeth gallery.

[A.D. 1758—1768—GEORGE II., GEORGE III.] THOMAS SECKER was born in 1693, of dissenting parents, at Sibthorpe, near Newark, in Nottinghamshire. He early became acquainted, however, with Butler, afterwards the famous Bishop of Durham, by whose persuasion, and by that of Dr. Benson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, he joined the Church of England, abandoned the study of medicine which he had proposed to himself, and took Holy Orders. Secker rapidly passed through many stations, was consecrated Bishop of Bristol in 1734, and translated to Oxford in 1737. His great talents, and his high reputation for piety and beneficence, recommended him for the primacy on the death of Hutton. He was consecrated accordingly in April 1758. He died at Lambeth in 1768, and was buried, as he had himself desired, "in the passage from the garden door of his palace to the north door of the parish church at Lambeth." By his will he left considerable sums to different charitable institutions. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is at Lambeth.

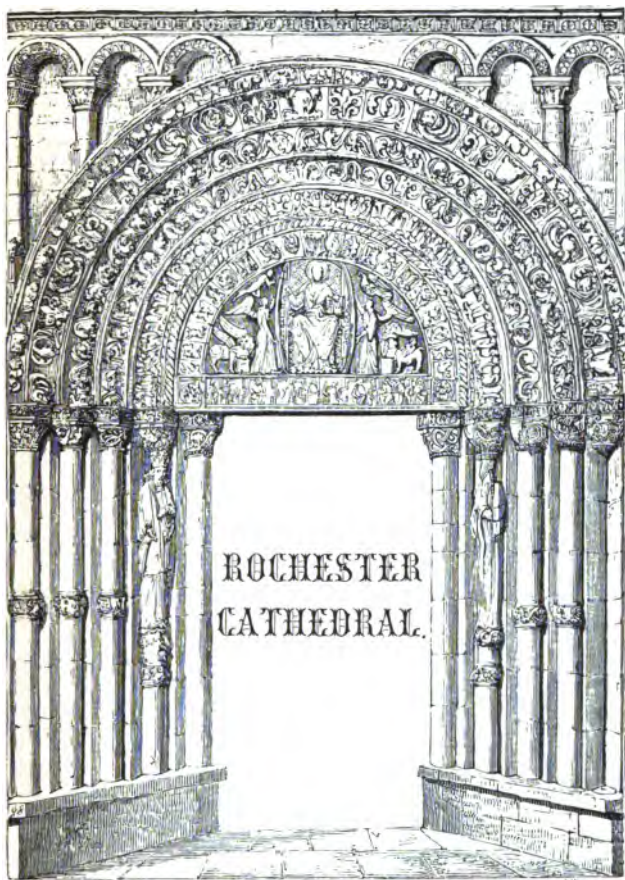
[A.D. 1768—1783—GEORGE III.] FREDERICK CORNWALLIS.

[A.D. 1783—1805—GEORGE III.] JOHN MOORE.

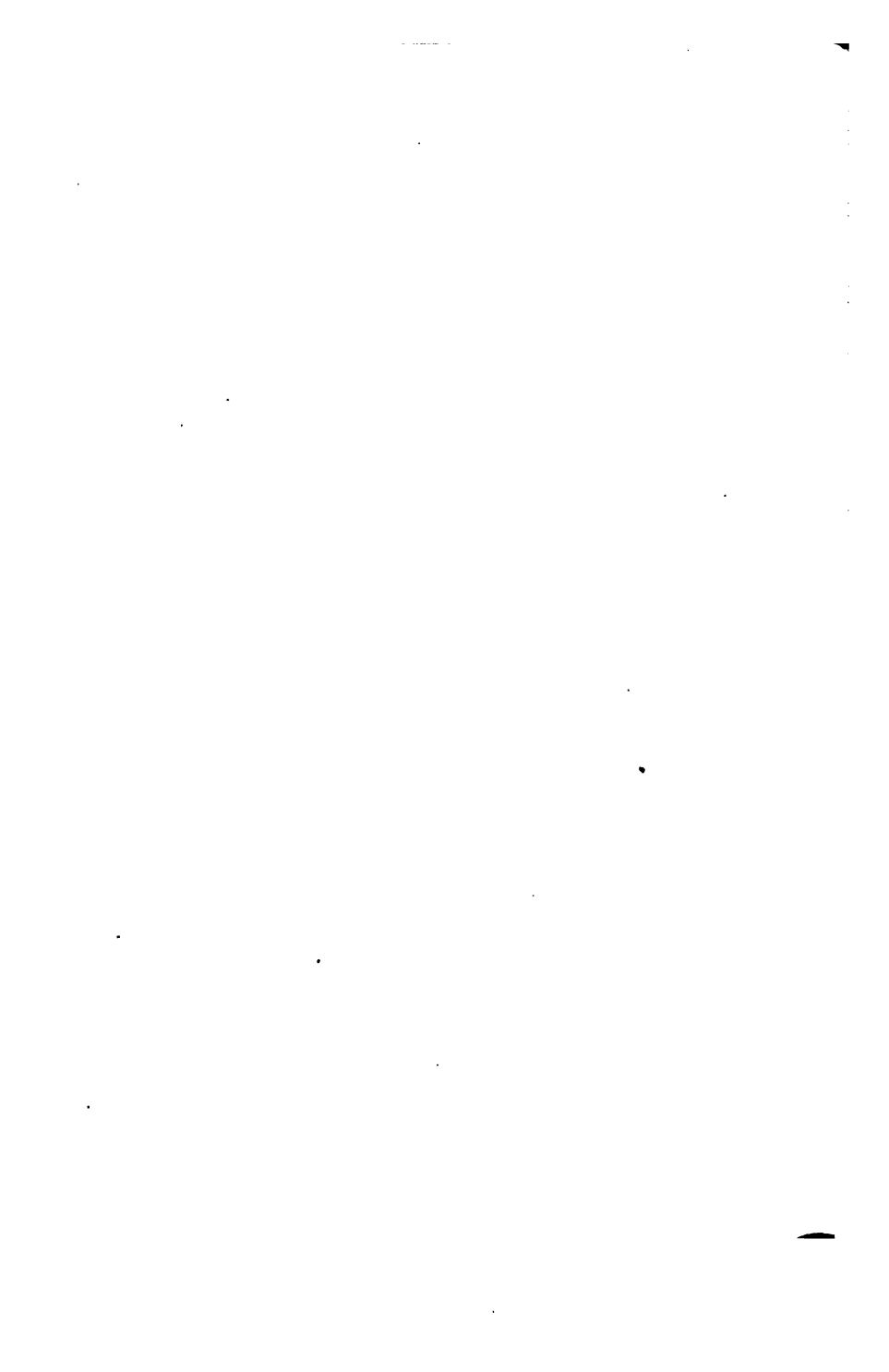
[A.D. 1805—1828—GEORGE III., GEORGE IV.] CHARLES MANNERS-SUTTON.

[A.D. 1828—1848—GEORGE IV., WILLIAM IV., VICTORIA.] WILLIAM HOWLEY.

[A.D. 1848—VICTORIA.] JOHN BIRD SUMNER.



WEST DOORWAY.





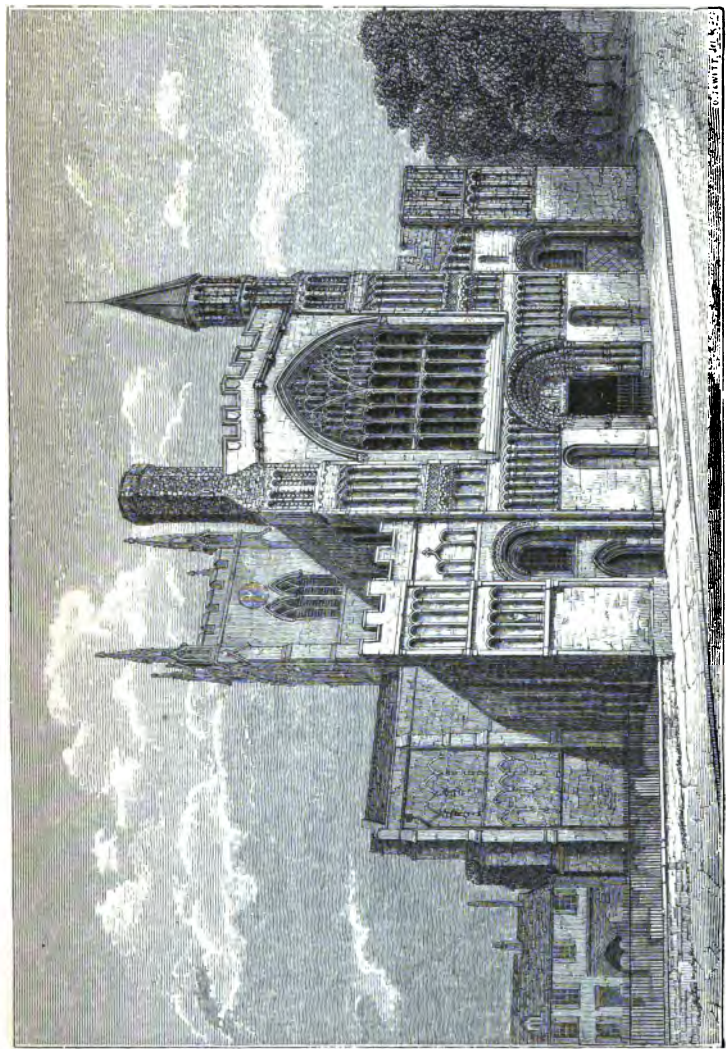
REFERENCES.

- A Nave.
- B B Great, or Western Transept.
- C Choir.
- D Chancel or Sacrarium.
- E E Eastern Transept.
- F Chapel of St. Mary.
- G St. Edmund's Chapel.
- H Vestry.
- I Stairs to Crypt.
- K Gundulf's Tower.
- L Yard.
- M Chapter-house.
- N Font.

- 1 Tomb of Bp. Lawrence.
- 2 Tomb of Bp. Gilbert de Glanville.
- 3 Tomb of Bp. Gundulf.
- 4 Tomb of Bp. Ingelthorpe.
- 5, 6, 7. Tombs of the Le Warner family.
- 8 Tomb of Bp. John de Sheppey.
- 9 Tomb of Bp. Walter de Merton.
- 10 Tomb of Bp. St. William.
- 11 Tomb of Bp. Lowe.
- 12 Tomb of Bp. Hamo de Hythe.
- 13 Tomb of Bp. John de Bradfield.
- 14, 15. Monuments of Lord and Lady Henniker.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

FRONTISPIECE.



WEST FRONT.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART I.

History and Details.

I. THE Saxon cathedral of Rochester (see Part II.) — the first outpost advanced by Augustine beyond Canterbury—suffered much from Danish ravages; and, like Canterbury, was in a completely ruined condition at the time of the Norman Conquest. So it continued until Gundulf, the friend of Archbishop Lanfranc, was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in 1077. He proceeded to rebuild his cathedral and the priory connected with it. In this he established, as Lanfranc had done at Canterbury, a colony of Benedictine monks in place of the secular clergy. Ernulf, Prior of Canterbury, succeeded Gundulf in the see of Rochester, and built the dormitory, chapter-house, and refectory: but it was not until five years after his death, and during the episcopate of John of Canterbury, that the new cathedral was dedicated (1130) in presence of the king and a great company of bishops. In this Norman church were displayed the shrines of St. Paulinus, third bishop, and of his successor, St. Ithamar (644—655), of Kentish birth, and remarkable as the first native bishop of the Saxon Church.

II. The cathedral was greatly injured by fire (*combusta est*, says the Chronicle,) in 1138, and again in 1177. Richard de Ross, who became prior in 1199, and his successor Helias, constructed new roofs and covered them with lead. The chroniclers of Rochester have not recorded the building of the great transept, which is, however, Early English, and cannot be much later than 1200.

In 1201 St. William of Perth was killed near Rochester, and buried in the cathedral, (see § x.) Numerous miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb, which became at once an important place of pilgrimage; and William de Hoo, the Sacrist, built the choir with its aisles (the whole church east of the great transept) with the offerings at St. William's tomb. The choir was first used in 1227. In 1239, William de Hoo, its builder, became prior; and in the following year (1240) the cathedral was solemnly consecrated by Richard de Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, and Richard, Bishop of Bangor^a. Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352) gave large sums for repairing the church, and raised the "campanile," or bell-tower, in which he placed four bells, named Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc. From these dates it will be seen that the cathedral consists almost entirely of *Norman* (nave and crypt) and *Early English* (choir and transepts) portions.

^a A decree of the Council of London, convened in 1237 by Cardinal Otho, legate of Pope Gregory IX., had ordered that all churches and cathedrals "not having been consecrated with holy oil, though built of old," should be dedicated within two years.

There are, however, some very good examples of Decorated in the choir windows, which are later insertions; and the doorway of the chapter-house, also of this period, is especially remarkable.

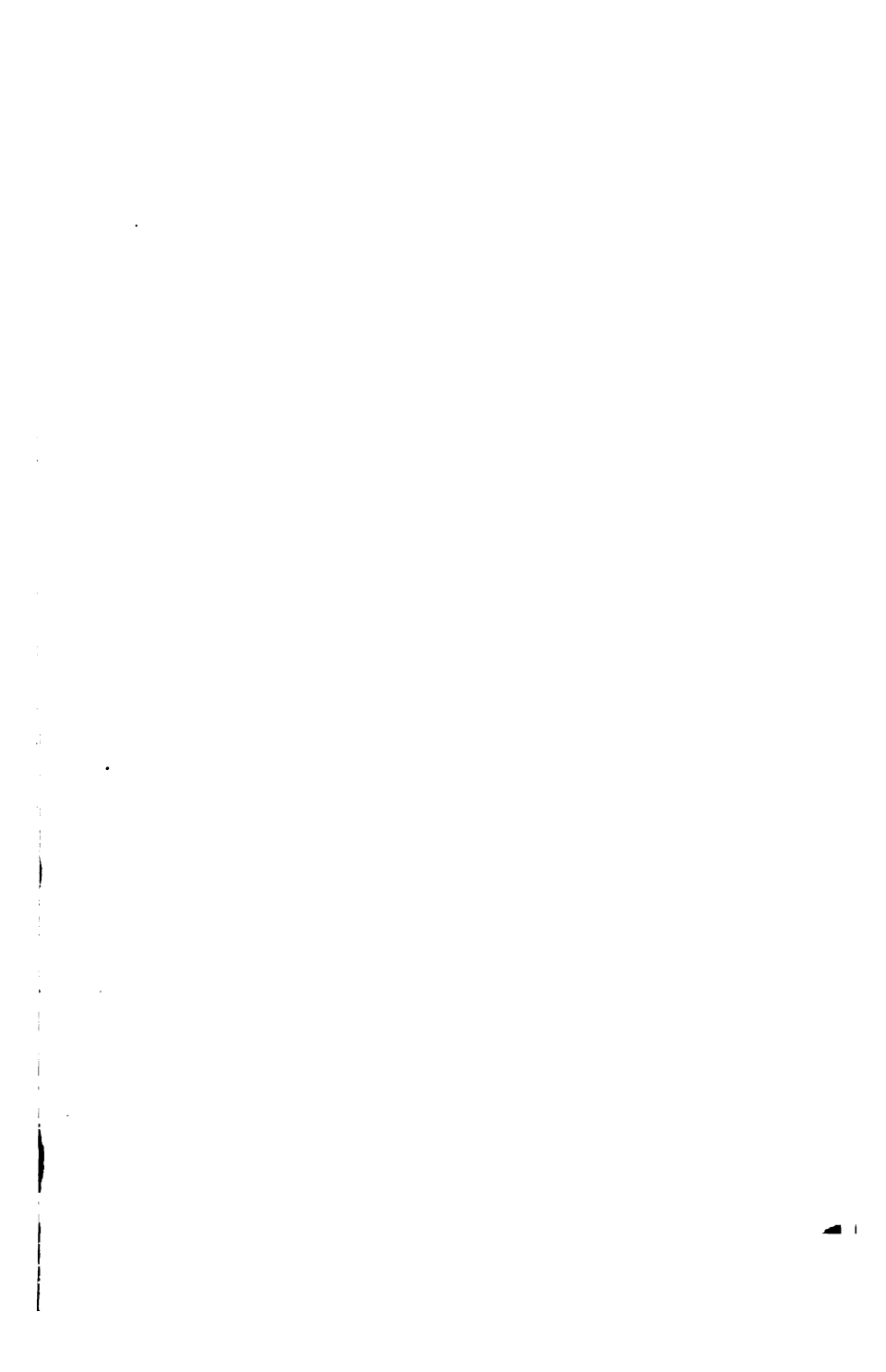
III. The cathedral suffered much in 1264, when the castle of Rochester was besieged by Simon de Montfort, whose troops, like the Northmen before them, and the Puritan soldiers afterwards, turned the nave into a stable. (See Pt. II., Bishop Lawrence de St. Martin.) The stained glass seems to have disappeared at the Dissolution, since Archbishop Laud, in 1633, complains that the building had received great injury from the want of glass in the windows. After the retreat of the Commonwealth troops the nave was long used as a carpenter's shop, and "several saw-pits were dug in it." At this time all the brasses were destroyed, in which, as their traces still prove, the church was very rich.

IV. An excellent bird's-eye view of the cathedral may be obtained from the upper story of Rochester Castle, which stands on much higher ground. The cathedral is so completely enclosed that no good general point of view can be found below.

The *west front* [Frontispiece], with the exception of the great Perpendicular window, belongs to the Norman period from Gundulf to Bishop John (1077—1130). It consists of a centre flanked by turrets; and of two wings, terminating the nave-aisles, and of somewhat later date than the centre. These wings—the lofty arches in which may be compared with the Norman

portions of the west front of Lincoln—were formerly capped by turrets, which have disappeared. The turret on the south side of the central gable is original; that on the north is Perpendicular, of the same date as the window and the gable above it. The entire front resembles, in general character, the Norman fragments of Malling Abbey, near Maidstone,—also attributed to Gundulf. Its only very striking portion, however, is the *central doorway* [Title-page], a very fine specimen of elaborate Norman. “It must be considered rather as a Continental than as an English design. Had it been executed by native artists, we should not entirely miss the billet-moulding, which was so favourite a mode of decoration with all the nations of the North^b.” The billet-moulding does occur, however, on the inside of the door, both in the principal arch and in the arcades; but the general design of the exterior is, beyond a doubt, very un-English. The doorway is formed of five receding arches, with banded shafts at the angles, two of which are carved into figures which probably represent Henry I. and the “good queen Molde.” These statues were much and deservedly praised by Flaxman. The tall slender figures, and the long plaited hair of the Queen, recall the early French statues of the first and second dynasties. In the tympanum is the Saviour within an elongated aureole, supported by two angels, and with the emblems of the four evangelists at the sides. Below are small figures of the apostles, few of which are entire. The capitals of the shafts and the

^b Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, p. 852.





NAVE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

bands of ornament above them are all rich and curious, and well deserve notice. On the front of the northern tower is a small statue, said—but without the least certainty—to represent Gundulf.

V. The *nave* [Plate I.], 150 feet long to the cross of the lantern, is Norman as far as the last two bays eastward. If, as is most probable, it is part of Gundulf's work, it was no doubt a copy of the Norman nave of Canterbury; and we are thus enabled to judge fairly what the appearance of the metropolitan cathedral was in this part of it. Its architecture is plainer than that of the contemporary examples in France, though, owing to its having been always destined for a wooden roof, the piers and the design generally are lighter than where preparation was made for a stone vault^c. The triforium is richly ornamented; and the arches open to the space above the side-aisles as well as to the nave, a peculiarity which both Rochester and Canterbury may have received from the church of St. Stephen's at Caen, where the same arrangement may still be seen. Lanfranc, the builder of the Norman church at Canterbury, had been Abbot of St. Stephen's. The clerestory windows above, like those of the aisles, are Perpendicular; and the roof seems to have been raised at the time of their insertion. This is of timber, and quite plain.

VI. The *font* is Norman, square, and enriched. In the *south aisle* are monuments for Lord and Lady Henniker (1792—1803), in which Honour and Benevo-

^c Fergusson, p. 851.

lence, Time and Eternity, play conspicuous parts. East of these monuments is the late Perpendicular *chapel of St. Mary*, recently well restored, but of no great interest. It is said to have been used as the chapel of the infirmary attached to the adjoining priory.

VII. In passing beyond the Norman portion of the nave to the Early English, of which nearly all the rest of the cathedral consists, the strong influence of Canterbury is at once apparent. The double transepts, the numberless shafts of Petworth marble, and perhaps the flights of stairs ascending from either side of the crypt, recall immediately the works of the two Williams in the metropolitical church, which always maintained the closest connection with Rochester, her earliest daughter.

The *western*, or *nave transepts*, are both Early English, differing, however, in detail, the north transept being much richer than the south, which is possibly a few years later, and underwent some alteration during the building of the Perpendicular chapel of St. Mary. The corbels of the *north* transept, nearly all monastic heads, are of unusual excellence; and the whole arrangement here is very rich and varied. In the lower range of lancets a memorial window for Archdeacon Walker King—thirty-two years Archdeacon of Rochester—has lately (1860) been fixed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. The central lancet displays the figure of our Saviour. Beneath, is the trial of St. Stephen at the moment of his vision. In the side lancets are St. Stephen and St. Philip the deacon; and in the predellas beneath

them the ordination of St. Philip and the stoning of St. Stephen. In the *south* transept remark the monument of RICHARD WATTS of Satis,—whose hospital, founded in 1579 for the entertainment of six poor travellers for one night, “provided they are not rogues nor proctors,” still remains in the High-street. The coloured bust of the monument, “starting out of it, like a ship’s figure-head,” is said to have been taken from the life.

VIII. Remark the banded shafts of marble that cluster about the tower-piers. The wooden roof below the tower, with its grotesque ornaments, dates from 1840, but can hardly be commended. No defence whatever can be made for the miserable festoons of drapery still permitted to degrade the great choir-arch above the organ. The want of stained glass, which is felt throughout the cathedral, is most evident at this central point, from which the east and west windows are both visible.

IX. The *choir* itself, which underwent a complete remodelling between the years 1825—1830, under the direction of Mr. Cottingham, is entered by a flight of steps, rendered necessary, as at Canterbury, by the height of the crypt below. It was completed sufficiently for use in 1227, in which year (that of the accession of Bishop Henry de Sandford) Edmund de Hadenham, one of the Rochester Benedictines, commemorates the “^d Introitus in novum Chorum Roffen-

^d Ang. Sac., i. 347.

sem." It is thoroughly developed Early English, although much has evidently been borrowed, even in detail, from the Canterbury transition work (1174—1184). It is narrow, and somewhat heavy; defects not lightened by the wood-work of the stalls, which is indifferent, or by the use of colour; a single line of which, however, is carried along the ribs of the vaulting with very good effect.

The *brackets* of Early English foliage from which the blind wall-arches spring, should be noticed. Two large ones especially, at the angles of the eastern transept, are excellent specimens of this period, before the naturalism of the Decorated had begun to develope itself. A fragment of mural painting, apparently of the same date as the choir itself, remains on the wall, close above the pulpit. The painting, when entire, is said to have represented a subject not uncommon in early churches,—the wheel of Fortune, with various figures—king, priest, husbandman, and others—climbing it.

X. Passing into the *north choir-transept*, still Early English, and a part of William de Hoo's work, the first point of interest is *St. William's tomb*, at the north-east corner. It is of Purbeck marble, with a floriated cross; and there are considerable remains of ornamental painting in the recess of the arch above. The date of the tomb is not clear; but is certainly later than the beginning of the thirteenth century, to which time the legend of St. William belongs. He is said to have been a Scottish baker, from Perth, who was in the habit of giving every tenth loaf to the poor, and who

had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, intending to visit the Canterbury shrine on his way. On the Watling Street, however, a short distance beyond Chatham, he fell in with thieves, always on the lookout for wealthy pilgrims; and his murdered body was brought back and solemnly interred in Rochester Cathedral. Numerous miracles were wrought at his tomb; and the shrine of St. William, borrowing a reflected glory from that of Becket, to which the pilgrim was bound, speedily eclipsed in reputation, and in the number of votaries it attracted, that of St. Paulinus, which had hitherto been the great pride of Rochester. Toward the centre of the transept is a flat stone marked with six crosses, upon which St. William's shrine is said to have rested. The steps which descend into the north aisle of the choir, are, as at Canterbury, deeply worn by the constant ascent of pilgrims, with whose oblations Prior William de Hoo (1239) built the church east of the transepts. St. William was duly canonized in 1256. His death occurred in 1201.

XI. West of St. William's tomb is that of Bishop WALTER DE MERTON (1274—1277; see Pt. II.) This tomb, which is very beautiful early Decorated, was well and carefully restored at the expense of Merton College, in the year 1852. The slab, with its cross, is entirely modern, the original brass, of Limoges work (which cost, according to Warton, £67 14s. 6d.) having been defaced in the reign of Edward VI. This was replaced in 1598 by the alabaster effigy which now occupies the adjoining recess. The stained glass in the windows

was inserted at the expense of Merton College, when the tomb was restored in 1852.

Against the opposite wall is the plain altar-tomb of Bishop LOWE (1444—1467).

XII. The space between the north-east and north-west transepts is partly occupied by *Gundulf's tower*, best seen, however, from the exterior. It is Norman, and was perhaps built as the record tower and treasury of Gundulf's cathedral. (Compare St. Andrew's tower, Canterbury, the date and position of which are nearly the same.) The walls are six feet thick, and the tower seems to have contained two chambers, each about twenty-four feet square. It has been suggested that the original entrance was from the top. In the south-west angle of the north-east transept is a newel stair, from the top of which an arch is thrown to the summit of the tower, across an open space of ten feet. This arrangement, evidently intended for the security and defence of the record tower, is curious and unusual. There are at present two narrow entrances into the church from the south side of the tower, of later date, however, if the above suggestion be correct.

XIII. In the *eastern aisle* of the *north-east transept* are the tombs of Bishop WARNER (1638—1666), and of Archdeacon WARNER (1679). Under an arch dividing this chapel from the choir, is the very interesting monument of Bishop JOHN DE SHEPPEY (1353—1360), probably the most perfect specimen of ancient colouring now existing in England. It had been bricked up within the arch where it still remains, and was dis-

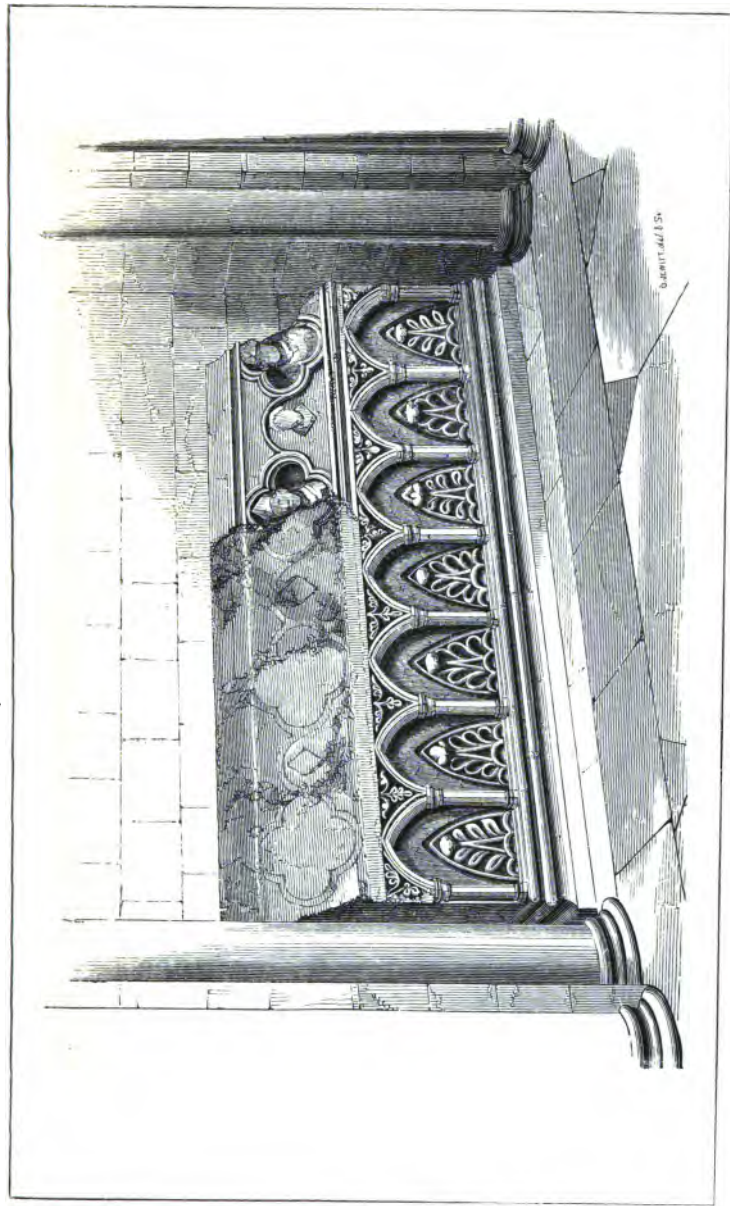
covered during the repairs in 1825. The colours and ornaments deserve the most careful attention, as well for their own beauty as for their great value as authorities. In the maniple, hung over the left arm, some of the crystals with which it was studded still remain. Remark the couchant dogs at the feet. About their necks are scarlet collars, hung with bells. An inscription, with the Bishop's name, surrounds the effigy. An iron railing of the same date, with his initials, J. S., has been brought from another part of the cathedral, and placed in front of the monument. The large branching finials are good.

XIV. The short *sacrarium*, or chancel, east of the transepts, probably formed part of William de Hoo's work, although it has undergone considerable alterations; the last "restoration" having taken place between 1825 and 1830, under the direction of Mr. Cottingham, when the windows at the east end, which had hitherto been concealed by an altar-screen, were uncovered and renewed. They are Decorated, and exhibit an arrangement of great beauty and interest. The other windows, also Decorated, were renewed at the same time. The chancel walls are, however, Early English, and perhaps the original work of Prior de Hoo. The stone vaulting, both of chancel and choir, is of Early English date, and although considerably later, should be compared with that of Canterbury. During Mr. Cottingham's restoration the walls were scraped and pointed, an operation which has by no means rendered their appearance more venerable. The

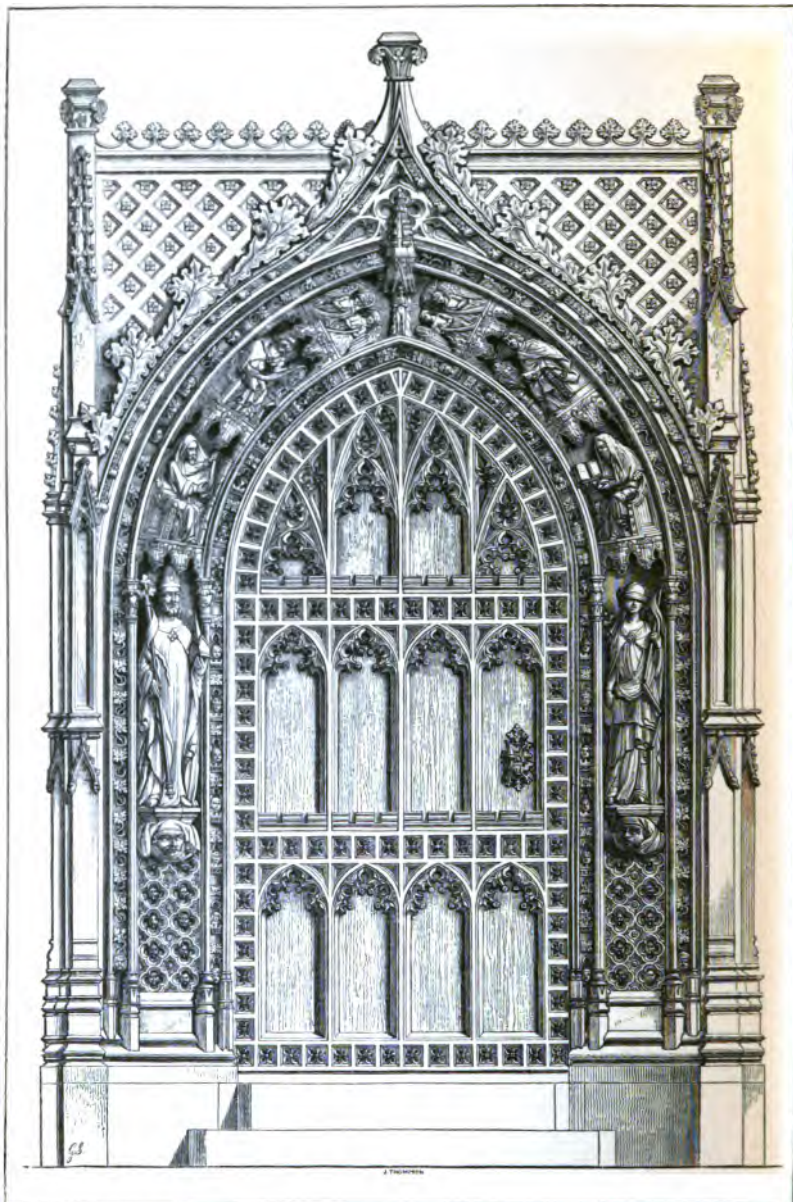
shrine of St. Paulinus, which here seems to have taken the place usually assigned to the altar of the Virgin, is thought to have occupied a central position, immediately between the east walls of the transepts.

XV. The monuments in the sacrarium are (beginning at the north-west corner)—Bishop GILBERT DE GLANVILLE (1185—1214) [Plate II.], shrine-shaped, with medallions containing mitred heads on the sloping cover, which has apparently been broken to pieces, and restored in a very rough manner. The medallions toward the west end seem to have been filled with some kind of mortar or cement. The side of the tomb should be especially noticed. The foliage in the arches is an evident imitation of a classic form, while that in the spandrels more resembles Early English. The arches themselves are of transition character. It is perhaps questionable whether this remarkable monument is not of earlier date than the Bishop to whom it has been assigned; nor is it quite certain that the side and the sloping cover originally formed parts of the same tomb. East is the monument of Bishop LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN (1251—1274). The richly wrought canopy above the effigy is an excellent specimen of early Decorated. It was this bishop who procured the canonization of St. William. In the north wall beyond, an unusual position, is an early Decorated piscina.

On the *south* side of the sacrarium, next the altar, is a tomb of plain marble, which has been called that of Bishop GUNDULF (1077—1108), the builder of the Norman portion of the cathedral. It is without mark



BISHOP GLANVILLE'S TOMB.



DOOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE.

or inscription. Beyond, is the monument, with effigy, of Bishop INGLETORPE (1283—1291). In the wall below are three sedilia of Decorated character, restored in 1825.

XVI. In the east wall of the south choir-transept is one of the great glories of the cathedral—the *chapter-house doorway* [Plate III.], of which a cast, very questionably coloured, may be seen in the Palace at Sydenham. It is late Decorated work, and is said to have been erected during the episcopate of Bishop Haymo de Hythe (1319—1352). It was restored by Mr. Cottingham in 1830. The principal figures on either side represent the Jewish Church, leaning on a broken reed, blind-folded, and holding in her right hand the upturned tables of the Law; and the Christian Church, a grave bishop, standing erect, with cathedral and crozier. The other figures have been variously explained. The four lower ones, seated, probably represent the four doctors of the Church—Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great. Above, on either side, appear angels, rising from what seem to be purgatorial flames, and praying for the “pure soul” represented by the small naked figure at the point of the arch. If the meaning is obscure, the work is of great excellence, and deserves careful notice. The oaken door within the arch is modern.

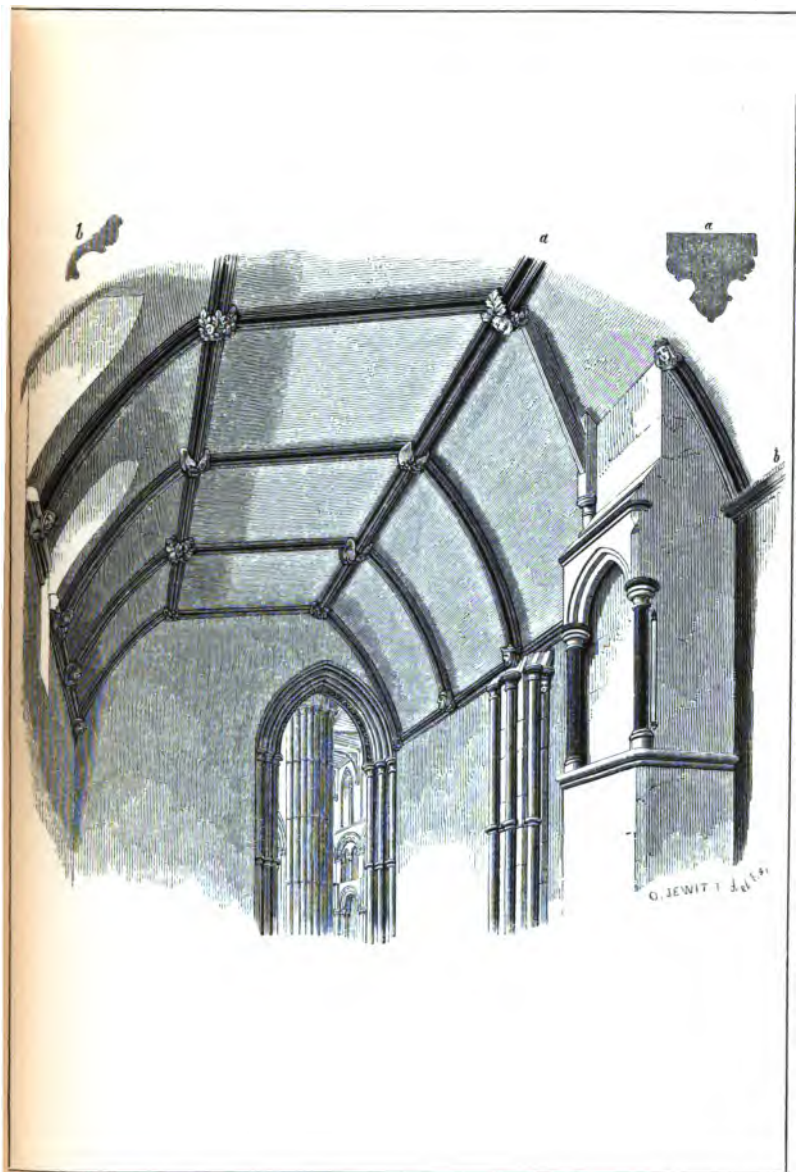
The chapter-house, into which this door opens, is a modern addition, and serves as the *library* of the cathedral. Here is preserved the MS. of the *Textus Roffensis*, a collection of records, gifts, and ancient

privileges of the Church of Rochester, compiled under the direction of Bishop Ernulf (1115—1124). This venerable manuscript has undergone considerable perils, having at one time been stolen, and only restored to the Chapter by the aid of a decree in Chancery; and on another occasion having fallen into the Thames, from whence it was rescued with no small difficulty. The *Customale Roffense*, a MS. of not less importance, is also preserved here.

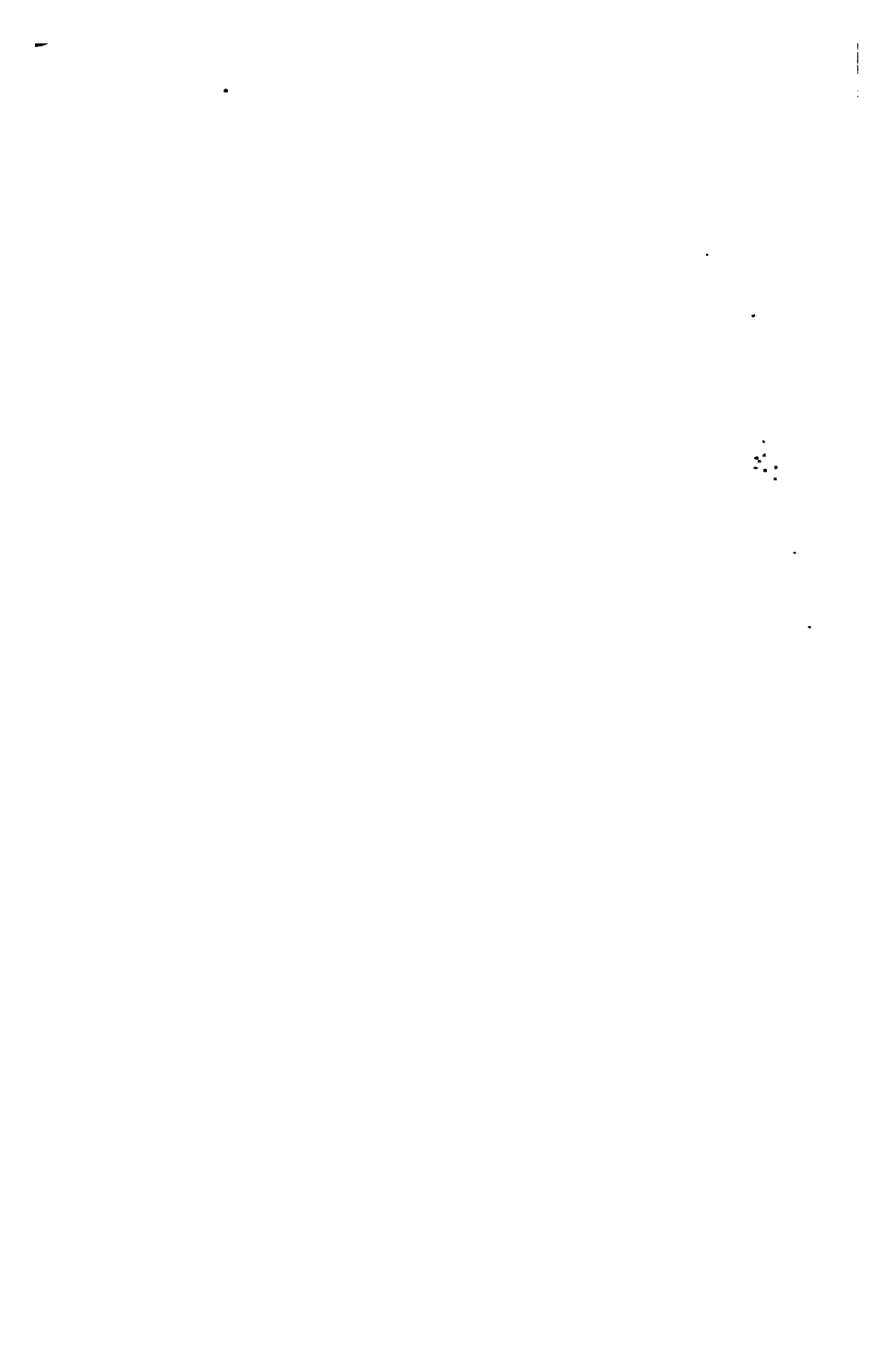
Under the transept window adjoining the chapter-house is an unknown tomb, marked with a cross. The destruction of the original chapter-house has here thrown the shafts much out of the perpendicular. Remark the horizontal oaken roof, *temp.* Edward I., studded with corbel-heads and bosses. [Plate IV.] The foliage of the latter should be noticed, especially the use of the graceful leaves of the water-lily, at that time no doubt frequent in the Medway. The roof is perhaps unique, and certainly the most valuable instance of the kind in England.

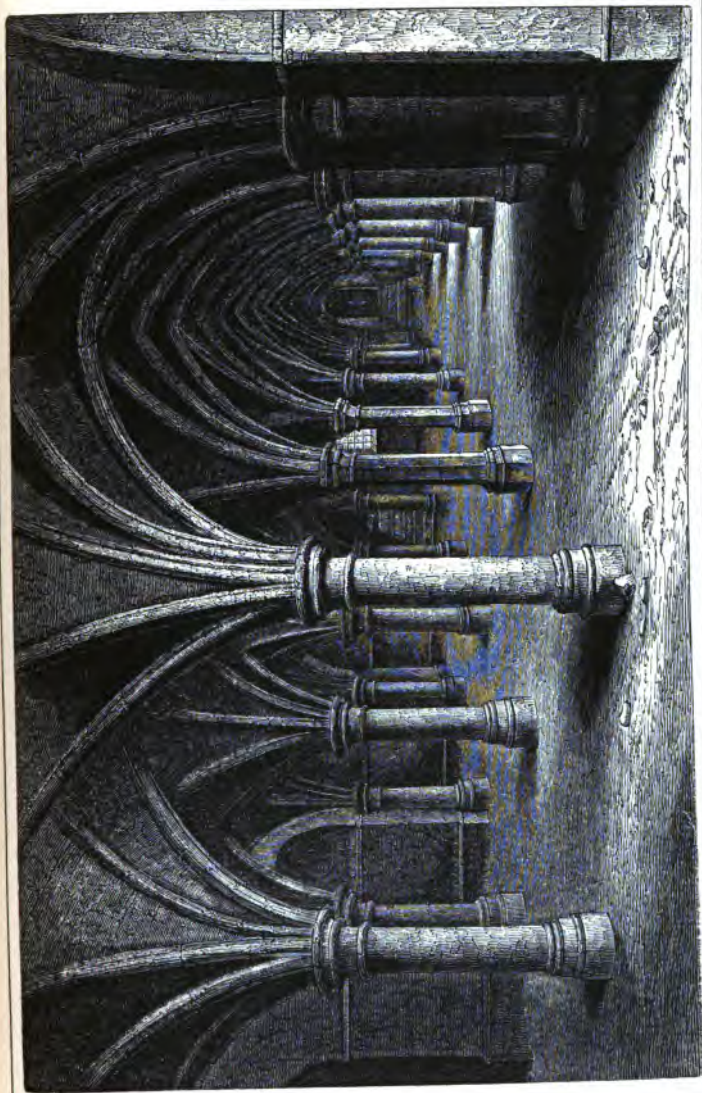
XVII. A steep flight of stairs, strongly recalling Canterbury, leads from this transept to the chapel called *St. Edmund's*, south of the choir. The defaced effigy in the north wall is supposed to be that of Bishop JOHN DE BRADFIELD (1278—1283).

XVIII. From *St. Edmund's* Chapel a flight of steps descends into the *crypt* [Plate V.], which extends under the whole of the choir, and is one of the best specimens of its class to be found in England. The west and east parts are evidently of a much earlier date

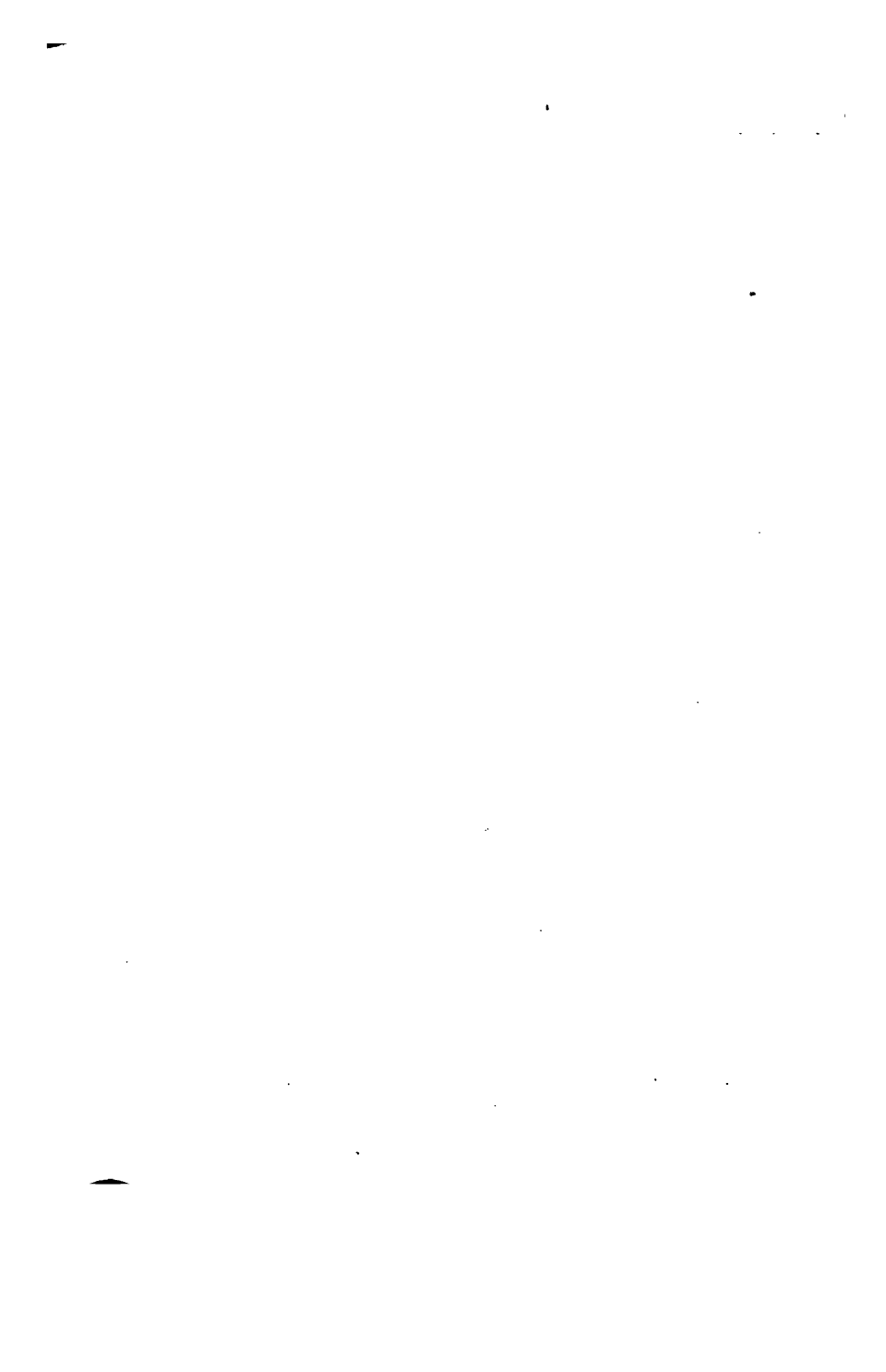


ROOF OF SOUTH-EAST TRANSEPT.

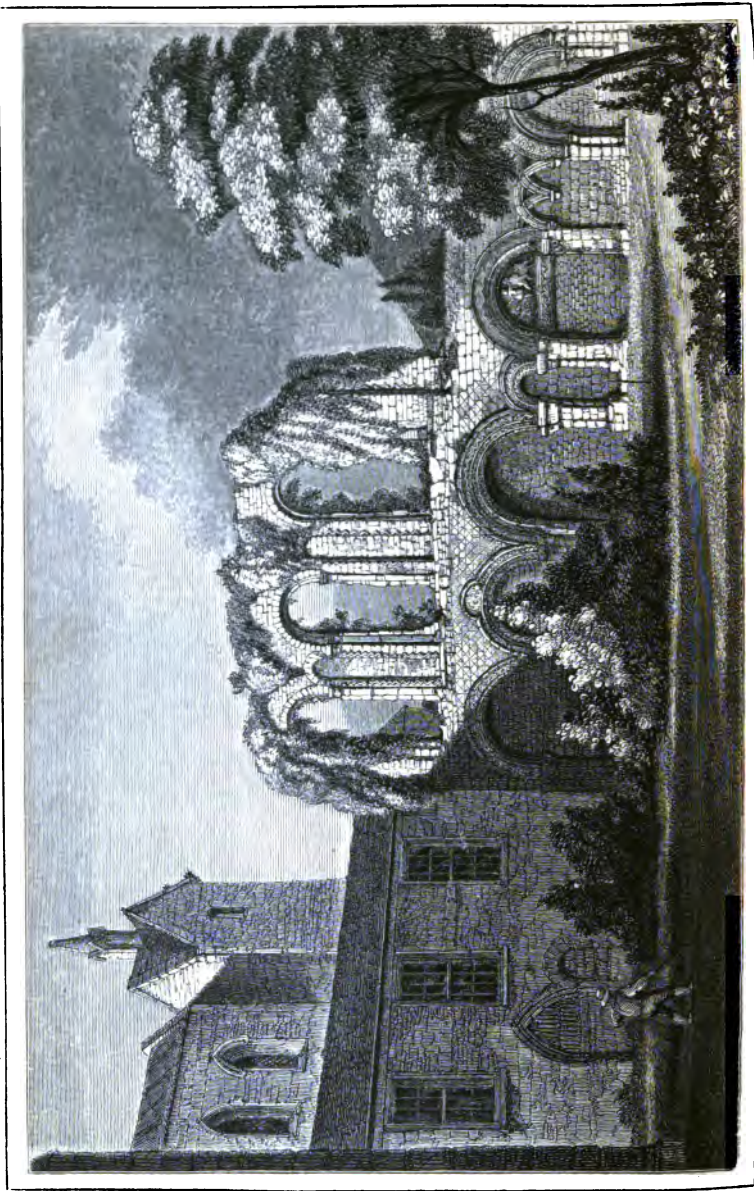




THE CRYPT.







REMAINS OF NORMAN CHAPTER-HOUSE.

than the central, which is Early English, and of the same period as the choir above. In building this, the ancient crypt was probably broken through, and in part reconstructed. The earlier portions are distinguished by very massive piers and circular arches. Between the piers are small pillars, with plain broad capitals. It is not impossible that this part of the crypt may date from before the Conquest. At all events, it is the earliest portion of the existing cathedral, and cannot be later than the work of Bishop Gundulf.

Traces of former altars, and of extensive mural painting, remain in different parts of the crypt. There are no monuments.

XIX. The greater part of the *central tower* of the cathedral dates from 1825, when it was raised under the direction of Mr. Cottingham. It is altogether unsatisfactory. A small portion immediately above the roof is the work of Bishop John de Sheppey (1352).

XX. Of the *priory* of St. Andrew, established in connection with the cathedral by Gundulf, almost the only remains are in the garden of the deanery, where is a small fragment of the cloister wall, supporting some window-arches of the old chapter-house. [Plate VI.] This is all Norman, and the recorded work of Ernulf, Gundulf's successor. The diaper on the wall is also found at Canterbury (where Ernulf was prior before his removal to Rochester, and where he built much), on the wall of the passage leading to the crypt from the Martyrdom transept. The lower arches, now closed, opened into an area below the chapter-house, used as

a place of interment more than usually honourable. The signs of the zodiac enrich the central arch. On a smaller one adjoining are the words "*Aries per cornua*," the only part of the inscription still legible.

Within the deanery, at the foot of the staircase, is an arcade, very closely resembling that on the exterior of St. Anselm's tower, Canterbury, also the work of Ernulf. The deanery occupies the site of the east end of the chapter-house.

XXI. The ancient episcopal palace stood at the south-east corner of the precincts. Since the Reformation the bishops have resided altogether at Bromley, where, however, their palace, called by Horace Walpole a "*paltry parsonage*," has ceased to belong to them since the enlargement of the see, and the consequent purchase of Danbury in Essex.

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

PART II.

History of the See, with Short Lives of the principal Bishops.

IN the year 604, shortly before the death of Augustine, and seven years after his first arrival in Thanet, two new bishoprics were established by him, at Rochester and at London. That of London was for the kingdom of the East Saxons; that of Rochester was for the western portion of Kent, which possibly formed a small dependent kingdom whose chief was subject to Ethelbert. Rochester, *Hrof's ceastre*, or castle, commanding the point at which the Watling Street crossed the Medway, was its capital, and formed an excellent centre for the establishment and propagation of the new faith.

[A.D. 604—624.] The first bishop of Rochester was JUSTUS, one of the second company who had been sent from Rome to assist Augustine. Justus was driven from his see for a short time after the relapse of Eadbald, the son of Ethelbert, into paganism (see CANTERBURY, Pt. II.), but was restored after the successful fraud of Laurence, and in 624 was translated to Canterbury, of which see he became third archbishop.

[A.D. 624—656.] Justus was succeeded by ROMANUS, who was drowned in crossing the Channel on his way to Rome. PAULINUS, the first preacher of Christianity among the Angles north of the Humber, after he had been driven from his northern diocese on the death of Edwin in 633, undertook

the government of the Church of Rochester, over which he presided until the year 644. (See YORK for a full notice of him.) ITHAMAR, who succeeded him, and who died in 656, was the first native bishop of the English Church. According to Malmesbury he was inferior to none of his predecessors in learning or in piety. Paulinus and Ithamar, both of whom were revered as saints, were interred in their cathedral church of St. Andrew, which had been built at Rochester on the first institution of the bishopric, by the influence of Ethelbert. Their remains were subsequently enshrined, and until the canonization of St. William in the thirteenth century (Pt. I. § x.), they were regarded as the chief patrons of the Church of Rochester. The cathedral was dedicated to St. Andrew in commemoration of the great convent of St. Andrew on the Cælian, to which Augustine and all his companions had originally belonged.

[A.D. 656—726.] The next four bishops—DAMIAN, PUTTA, QUICHELM, and GEBMUND—were men of little note. The see over which they presided was small and poor, and two of them, at least, deserted their charge in consequence. TOBIAS, who succeeded in the year 693, was, according to Bede, one of the most learned Churchmen of his time in England. He had studied in the school established at Canterbury by Theodore and Hadrian, so that "Greek and Latin were as familiar to him as the accents of his native tongue*." Tobias died in 726, and was interred in the chapel (*porticus*) of St. Paul, within the cathedral, which he had constructed for this purpose during his lifetime.

[A.D. 727—1075.] Of the bishops of Rochester between Tobias and Siward, who occupied the see at the period of the Conquest, scarcely anything is recorded beyond the names; and even these vary in the lists furnished by different chroniclers. None of them apparently were men of learning or distinction. SIWARD, who had been Abbot of

* Bede, H. E., l. v. c. 23.

Abingdon, was consecrated in the year 1058, and was not removed from his see after the Conquest. He assisted at the consecration of Archbishop Lanfranc, and died in the year 1075. The diocese of Rochester had suffered much during the Danish ravages, and probably during the stormy time succeeding the Conquest; and on the death of Siward his church was found, says Malmesbury, "wretched and empty, destitute of all things within and without." Five canons alone remained, who supported themselves from day to day with no small difficulty.

After Siward's death, ARNOST, a monk of Bec, was consecrated by Lanfranc as his successor. He died in the following year, and

[A.D. 1076—1107.] GUNDULF, also a monk of Bec, succeeded him. Under this bishop the condition of the Church of Rochester was greatly improved. The secular canons were replaced by a body of more than sixty Benedictines, "*bene legentes et optime cantantes*," the cathedral itself was rebuilt (Pt. I. § 1.), and by the assistance of Archbishop Lanfranc, who also contributed large sums of money toward the rebuilding of the cathedral, several manors which had been alienated were recovered for the see. Besides his cathedral, Gundulf, who was one of the most celebrated military architects of his time, has the reputation of having built the great keep of Rochester Castle, one of the most impressive remains of the Norman period in England, besides portions of the Tower of London and of the Castle of Dover. But, although Gundulf certainly built a castle at Rochester,—at ~~most~~ cost, says the Chronicle, of £60,—there is reason to doubt whether the existing keep is not of a later period. Gundulf removed the relics of St. Paulinus into their silver shrine, and assigned them the place of honour at the eastern end of his new cathedral. A plain tomb, said to be that of Bishop Gundulf, remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1108—1114.] RALPH D' ESCURES, who had been Abbot

of Saye in Normandy, was translated from Rochester to Canterbury in 1114.

[A.D. 1115—1124.] **ERNULF**, like his predecessor Gundulf, was a prelate with the true Norman instinct for architecture. He had been a monk of Bec, whence Lanfranc had summoned him to Canterbury. Under Anselm he became Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, then Abbot of Peterborough, and was consecrated Bishop of Rochester by Ralph, after his elevation to the primacy. At Canterbury, Ernulf had completed the cathedral commenced by Lanfranc. At Peterborough he nearly rebuilt the monastery, and at Rochester he was not less zealous. Some points of resemblance between his works here and at Canterbury have been pointed out in Pt. I. § xx. Under

[A.D. 1125—1137.] **JOHN**, who had been Archdeacon of Canterbury, the new cathedral was solemnly consecrated.

[A.D. 1137—1142.] **JOHN**, Abbot of Saye;

[A.D. 1142—1148.] **ASCELIN**, and

[A.D. 1148—1182.] **WALTER**, Archdeacon of Canterbury, need only be named. The archbishops of Canterbury had hitherto always appointed to the see of Rochester. Archbishop Theobald, on the death of Ascelin, placed the right of election for the future in the hands of the monks of St. Andrew's convent.

[A.D. 1182—1184.] **WALERAN**.

[A.D. 1185—1214.] **GILBERT DE GLANVILLE**, Archdeacon of Luxeuil. Throughout his episcopate, a perpetual quarrel, the cause of which is uncertain, prevailed between him and his monks, from whom—according to Edmund of Hadenham, one of their number, and therefore to some extent a prejudiced witness—he took the greater part of their farms and manors, besides appropriating the churches which had hitherto belonged to the convent. In order to support the legal actions which the monks brought against their bishop, they sold many of the ornaments of their church; among the rest, the silver with which Lanfranc

had decorated the shrine of St. Paulinus. "Bishop Gilbert," says Edmund the Monk, "was a native of Northumberland, and proved clearly enough the truth of what is said concerning those regions, that 'out of the North proceedeth all evil,' (*quod ab Aquilone prodit omne malum.*)" Gilbert, who, as Bishop of Rochester, acted as Archbishop Baldwin's vicar during his absence in the Holy Land, was also for some time Chancellor of England. "*Hic cum Cancellarius esset Regalis, matris Ecclesiæ bona cancellare non desiit spiritualis.*" The famous interdict of King John's reign (see *CANTERBURY*, Pt. II., Stephen Langton,) continued during the last seven years of Bishop Gilbert's episcopate, and was annulled immediately after his death. It was, thought Edmund of Hadenham, a mark of divine vengeance that he did not live to see its close; "so that the Church, which prays even for Jews and heretics, was not permitted to celebrate the holy mysteries at his death." He was buried on the north side of the high altar, "*inter fundatores confundator.*" A remarkable tomb, which has been assigned to him, remains in the chancel of his cathedral, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1215—1226.] *BENEDICT DE SANSETUN.* In the year of his accession Rochester Castle, which had been held by certain of the Barons, was taken by King John, and the cathedral was plundered, so that "not even a pix remained in which the body of the Lord might rest upon the altar." (*Adeo ut nec pixis cum corpore Christi super altare remaneret.*)

[A.D. 1227—1235.] *HENRY DE SANDFORD*, Archdeacon of Canterbury. According to Edmund of Hadenham and Matthew Paris, whilst this bishop was on one occasion saying Mass at Sittingbourn, he announced to the people that a vision had been accorded him by which he was assured that on that very day three souls, and three only, had passed from purgatory to the joys of heaven—those of King Richard Cœur-de-Lion, of Archbishop Stephen

Langton, and of a nameless chaplain of the archbishop's. The new choir of Rochester was used for the first time in the year of Bishop Henry's accession.

[A.D. 1238—1250.] The monks of Rochester, on the death of Bishop Henry, chose as his successor RICHARD DE WENDOVER, rector of the church of Bromley, whom, however, the Archbishop, Edmund Rich, refused to consecrate, declaring him to be "rude and unlearned." After the church of Rochester had been three years without a head, a papal mandate at last compelled the Archbishop to recognise the choice of the monks. Bishop Richard was buried in the church of Westminster by the command of Henry III., in acknowledgment of the great excellence of his life.

[A.D. 1251—1274.] LAWRENCE DE ST. MARTIN, one of the King's chaplains, was consecrated at Lyons in 1251. He struggled in vain against the rapacity of Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, who had taken possession of much property belonging to the see of Rochester. He carried his appeal against the Archbishop to Rome, where, however, he found the Pope, Alexander VI., unable or unwilling to assist him. At this time Bishop Lawrence procured the canonization of St. William, and, if we are to believe a statement of Edmund of Hadenham, he acted for some time as senator of Rome. "*Iste vero Laurentius per multum tempus Senator Romanorum fuisse dicitur*."^b The Bishop went to Rome in 1256, in which year the Senator Brancalone laid down his office, and did not resume it until 1258. It is possible that Bishop Lawrence may have filled it during some part of the interval. In 1264 the castle of Rochester, which was held by the Earl of Warrene and others of the King's party, was besieged by Simon de Montfort and the Barons. The city was taken and plundered on Good Friday, when "the satellites of the devil entered the church of St. Andrew with their drawn swords, and striking fear and horror into its children and those also

^b Ang. Sac., i. 351.

who had taken refuge in it, crucified them together with the Lord, who suffereth in His elect. Moreover they plundered the gold and silver, and precious things. Some of the monks they kept imprisoned all the night, and armed men on their horses rode about the altars, and dragged thence with impious hands certain persons who had fled to them. . . . The holy places—the chapels, the cloisters, the chapter-house, the infirmary—were made stables for their horses, and filled with filth and uncleanness^c. The tomb of Bishop Lawrence remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1274—1278.] WALTER DE MERTON, the distinguished founder of Merton College, Oxford, was born, as is most probable, in the early part of the thirteenth century, at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where his parents, who were of good family, were both buried. Their son Walter is said to have been educated at the Augustinian Priory of Merton in Surrey—whence he derived the surname which he afterwards bestowed on his foundation at Oxford—and at Oxford. He was certainly in Holy Orders in the year 1238, but had early applied himself to the study of the law, and seems to have practised in the King's courts. Before 1240 he had acquired considerable landed property in Surrey, chiefly in the parishes adjoining Merton, and his reputation and influence at court steadily increased, until, in 1258, he became Chancellor. Numerous prebends and other preferments were bestowed on him by the King, who was much pressed for money, and had no readier means of paying him. In 1262, during Henry the Third's absence in France, Walter de Merton was continued in office, from which, however, he was removed by the Barons in 1263. In 1272, the first year of Edward I., he was again appointed Chancellor, "displaying extraordinary ability, and materially contributing to the auspicious commencement of the new reign." On his removal from office in 1274 he received the bishopric of Rochester, and died, it

^c Ed. de Hadenham, Ang. Sac., i. 351.

is said, from the effects of a fall from his horse into the Medway, Oct. 27, 1277. His tomb in the north-east transept has already been noticed, (Pt. I. § XI.)

Although Walter de Merton occupied a public position of no small importance during his lifetime, he is now best remembered from his noble foundation at Oxford, "the first incorporation of any body of persons for purposes of *study* in this kingdom, and the first effort to raise the condition of the secular clergy by bringing them into close connection with an academical course of study;" the first independent *college* in fact, "a distinct republic with its endowments, statutes, and internal government," and thus "distinguished from the hall or hostel, where the other scholars dwelt and studied only under the ordinary academic discipline." Bishop Walter's college, at first a much smaller institution, was originally established in connection with Oxford, in the year 1274, at Malden, the adjoining parish to Merton, in Surrey. It was subsequently removed altogether to Oxford, and in 1274 its statutes were ratified by the founder, and by King Edward I. In 1275 Archbishop Kilwardby grants his confirmation to the completed foundation, describing its object as that of producing by education in arts, common law, and theology, a "*copia doctorum qui velut stellæ in perpetuas æternitates mansuri valeant ad justitiam plurimos erudire.*" That it did at once produce a "*copia doctorum*" is sufficiently proved by the great number of bishops and archbishops who received their education at Merton during the next two centuries. It should especially be recollected, however, that the college was established for the benefit of the secular clergy in opposition to the regulars. "De Merton, though he introduced, according to the habits of his time, much of the monastic discipline, the common diet, seclusion within the walls, regular service and study; perhaps as a Churchman, possibly with even more widely prophetic view, was singularly jealous lest his college should degenerate into a narrow

monastic community. Whoever became a monk was expelled from his fellowship⁴." The monastic chronicler of Rochester sufficiently indicates that Bishop Walter's memory was not greatly revered by the Benedictines of his convent. He acquired, we are told, two additional manors for the bishopric, "but notwithstanding his great power and authority, neither did himself, nor procured from others, any good thing for the prior and convent*."

The see of Rochester was held by no very distinguished prelate from this time until the Reformation.

[A.D. 1278—1283.] JOHN DE BRADFIELD, precentor of the church of Rochester, succeeded De Merton. He had been excellent as a monk, says Master Edmund, but turned out an indifferent bishop. "From superlative he passed to comparative; from comparative to positive."

[A.D. 1283—1291.] THOMAS INGLETHORPE, Dean of St. Paul's. His tomb remains in the chancel, (Pt. I. § xv.)

[A.D. 1292—1317.] THOMAS DE WOLDHAM, Prior of Rochester. For two years the see remained vacant.

[A.D. 1319—1352.] HAYMO DE HYPHE, Confessor of Edward II. The beautiful doorway of the chapter-house (Pt. I. § xvi.) is said to have been constructed during his episcopate. He contributed large sums toward the restoration of his cathedral, and built much at the various manors belonging to the see, especially at Halling on the Medway. The shrines of St. Paulinus and Ithamar were renewed and richly adorned by him. Bishop Haymo very prudently kept aloof as much as possible from the troubles of his time; but was in some danger on the occasion of Bishop Stapledon's murder in 1326, when he escaped on foot from London. The chief particulars of his episcopate

⁴ Milman, *Lat. Christ.*, vi. 102. For ample notices of Merton College and its objects, see the Report of the Oxford University Commission, and a "Sketch of the Life of Walter de Merton," by Edmund, Bishop of Nelson. (Oxford: J. H. and Jas. Parker, 1859.)

* *Ang. Sac.*, i. 352.

have been recorded by William of Dene, a member of his household; who duly sets forth the upright conduct of Bishop Haymo, at a time when the other prelates were "sacrificing to Mahomet" (Machumeto sacrificabant), and submitting themselves to the control of Queen Isabella and her favourite Mortimer. (See the narrative of William of Dene in *Ang. Sac.*, vol. i.) In 1348 the Bishop's household was almost swept away by the Black Death.

[A.D. 1353—1360.] JOHN DE SHEPPEY, Prior of Rochester. He was Treasurer (not Chancellor, as is usually asserted) of England from 1326 to 1358. His remarkable effigy has been noticed Pt. I. § XIII.

[A.D. 1362—1364.] WILLIAM OF WHITTLESEA, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, was translated to Worcester in 1364, and afterwards to Canterbury. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1364—1372.] THOMAS TRILLECK, Dean of St. Paul's.

[A.D. 1373—1389. THOMAS BRINTON, a Benedictine, intruded by the Pope. He was Confessor of Richard II.

[A.D. 1389—1400.] WILLIAM DE BOTTLESHAM, a Dominican of great learning, translated from Llandaff, and intruded by the King, Richard II., in opposition to the monks, who had elected Richard Barnet.

[A.D. 1400—1404.] JOHN DE BOTTLESHAM, Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[A.D. 1404—1418.] RICHARD YONG, translated from Bangor.

[A.D. 1419—1421.] JOHN KEMP, translated successively to Chichester, London, York, and Canterbury. (See CANTERBURY Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1422—1434.] JOHN LANGDON, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, was intruded by the Pope. He is said to have received the bishopric as a reward for his zeal in the prosecution of Wickliffe under Archbishop Arundel. Langdon died in 1434, whilst attending the Council of Basle.

[A.D. 1435—1436.] THOMAS BROWN, Vicar-general of Archbishop Chichele, and Dean of Salisbury, succeeded. During

his absence at the Council of Basle he was translated to Norwich.

[A.D. 1437—1444.] WILLIAM WELLS, Abbot of York.

[A.D. 1444—1467.] JOHN LOWE, translated from St. Asaph, was General of the Augustinians in England, and a prelate of considerable learning. His tomb remains in the north-east transept, (Pt. I. § XI.)

[A.D. 1468—1472.] THOMAS ROTHERHAM, translated to York.

[A.D. 1472—1476.] JOHN ALCOCK, translated to Worcester.

[A.D. 1476—1480.] JOHN RUSSELL, guardian of the young prince, afterwards Edward V., translated to Lincoln.

[A.D. 1480—1492.] EDMUND AUDLEY, translated to Hereford, and thence to Salisbury, where his beautiful chantry still remains. (See that Cathedral.)

[A.D. 1493—1496.] THOMAS SAVAGE, translated to London.

[A.D. 1497—1503.] RICHARD FITZ-JAMES, translated to Chichester.

[A.D. 1504—1535.] JOHN FISHER, the unhappy fellow-sufferer with Sir Thomas More, was born in 1459, at Beverley in Yorkshire, and educated at Cambridge. At an early age he was made chaplain and confessor to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. ; and it was by Fisher's counsel that she founded the two great colleges of St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge, and established the "Lady Margaret" professorships of Divinity in both Universities. In 1501 Fisher was elected Chancellor of Cambridge, and in the following year became himself the first "Margaret" professor there. In 1504 he was raised to the see of Rochester, at the especial recommendation of Fox, Bishop of Winchester.

On all the great questions connected with the early English Reformation, Bishop Fisher zealously supported the side of Rome. He wrote against Luther, and endeavoured by all possible means to prevent the spreading of his doctrines in the University of Cambridge; he maintained the

validity of the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon; he opposed the dissolution of the monasteries, and protested in Convocation against the title of "Supreme Head of the English Church" assumed by Henry VIII. Like Archbishop Warham and some others, Bishop Fisher gave too ready a credence to the pretended revelations of Elizabeth Barton, the famous nun of Kent; and was adjudged guilty of misprision of treason for having concealed certain speeches of the supposed prophetess which related to the King. He was condemned to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, but was released upon payment of £300. After the passing of the Act of Succession, which confirmed the marriage of the King with Anne Boleyn, and entailed the crown upon her issue, Bishop Fisher refused to take the oath of observance which had been accepted by both Houses, and was accordingly committed to the Tower, April 26, 1534.

Many attempts were made, but in vain, to induce Fisher to take the oath of succession. He agreed at length to promise allegiance to the King, and to the issue of the new marriage; but declared "that his conscience could not be convinced that the marriage was not against the law of God." With this, however, Henry was not satisfied, and in January, 1534, Bishop Fisher was attainted of high treason, and his bishopric declared void. He still remained in the Tower, without money and without resources; it is even said that sufficient clothing was not provided for him. In May, 1535, Paul III. created him Cardinal of St. Vitalis. The King ordered that the cardinal's hat should not be brought into his dominions, and was still further enraged at learning that Fisher had declared his intention of accepting it. Visitors were now sent to the Tower to ascertain the Bishop's opinion concerning the statute of the Royal Supremacy, which had been passed since his committal. This statute he declared himself altogether unable to recognise. He was accordingly placed without delay on his

trial, found guilty of high treason, and condemned to lose his head, a sentence which was executed on Tower-hill, June 22, 1535. His body, by the King's command, remained all day naked on the scaffold. His head was fixed over London-bridge; but, after it had been exposed there for fourteen days it was taken down and thrown into the Thames, because, according to Hall, the Bishop's biographer, "the face was observed to become fresher and more comely day by day," and such was the concourse of persons who assembled to look at it, that "almost neither cart nor horse could pass."

In the earlier part of his career Bishop Fisher might, had he chosen, have attained to much higher preferment; but he declared that he never would exchange the bishopric of Rochester, then the smallest and poorest in England, for any other. His learning and piety, as well as the great gentleness of his disposition, caused his death to be regarded with more than usual indignation: in Burnet's words, "it left one of the greatest blots upon this kingdom's proceedings." Henry himself, in the earlier period of his reign, had been much attached to Bishop Fisher, and asked Cardinal Pole if in all his travels he had ever found a prelate of equal worth and ability with the Bishop of Rochester?†

Fisher had "the notablest library of books in all England,—two long galleries full," and undertook the study of Greek when upwards of sixty years old. "Reverendus Episcopus Roffensis," writes Erasmus, who knew him well, "vir non solum mirabili integritate vitæ, verum etiam alta et recondita doctrina, tum morum quoque incredibili comitate commendatus maximis pariter ac minimis. . . . Aut egregie fallor, aut is vir est unus, cum quo nemo sit hac tempestate conferendus, vel integritate vitæ, vel eruditione, vel animi magnitudine."

† Hist. of the Reformation.

‡ Apol. Poli., p. 95.

‡ Harl. MSS., No. 7,047, p. 17; quoted by Bruce, *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

An interesting notice of Bishop Fisher, especially of his last troubles, by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A., will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv.

[A.D. 1535—1538.] JOHN HILSEY, Prior of the Dominican convent in London, but a decided advocate of the Reformation, succeeded. It was this bishop who exhibited at St. Paul's Cross the famous "Rood of Boxley," breaking it in pieces before the people, and displaying to them the springs by which it had been moved.

[A.D. 1540, translated to Worcester in 1543.] NICHOLAS HEATH, King Henry the Eighth's Almoner.

[A.D. 1544, translated to Lincoln 1547.] HENRY HOLBEACH.

[A.D. 1547, translated to London 1550.] NICHOLAS RIDLEY.
(See LONDON.)

[A.D. 1550.] JOHN POYNET, translated to Winchester in the following year. (See WINCHESTER.)

[A.D. 1551, translated to Chichester 1552.] JOHN SCORY.
(See CHICHESTER.) The see remained vacant for nearly two years.

[A.D. 1554—1558.] MAURICE GRIFFIN, who had been educated by the Dominicans of Oxford, was appointed on the accession of Mary. "His diocese was but of small extent," says Fuller, "but that flock must be very little indeed out of which the ravenous wolf cannot fetch some prey for himself. Maurice the bishop played the tyrant¹." Four persons were burnt during his episcopate, and the Bishop himself died of the same fever which proved fatal to the Queen and to Cardinal Pole.

[A.D. 1560, translated to Salisbury 1571.] EDMUND GHEAST.
(See SALISBURY.)

[A.D. 1572, translated to Norwich 1575.] EDMUND FREKE.

[A.D. 1576, translated to Salisbury 1577, and thence to York.] JOHN PIERS. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1578—1605.] JOHN YONGE, buried in the parish church of Bromley.

¹ Church Hist.

[A.D. 1605, translated to Lincoln 1608.] WILLIAM BARLOW.

When Dean of Chester this prelate was employed by Archbishop Whitgift to draw up an account of the Hampton Court Conference held before King James in January, 1603.

[A.D. 1608, translated to Lichfield 1610, and thence successively to Durham, Winchester, and York.] RICHARD NEILE. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1611, translated to Ely 1628.] JOHN BUCKERIDGE, the intimate friend of Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, whom he had succeeded in the vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and whose funeral sermon he preached. Bishop Buckeridge wrote a book "against the power of the Pope in temporal matters," which, says Godwin, "could his predecessor Bishop Fisher have perused, he never would have lost his life in defence of a doctrine so notoriously false." Buckeridge died in 1631, and was buried at Bromley, notwithstanding his translation to the see of Ely.

[A.D. 1628, translated in the following year to Bath and Wells, and thence to Winchester.] WALTER CURLE.

[A.D. 1630—1637.] JOHN BOWLE, Dean of Salisbury.

[A.D. 1638—1666.] JOHN WARNER; born of a good family in London, and educated at Oxford, was conspicuous for his defence of the Church of England against the attacks of the Puritan party in the early period of the Civil War. "God," says Fuller^k, "hath given him a great estate, and a liberal heart to make use of it. Keeping good hospitality in the Christmas at Bromley, as he fed many poor, so he freed himself from much trouble; being absent when the rest of the bishops subscribed their protest in Parliament, whereby he enjoyed liberty in (during) the restraint of others of his order. He was an able and active advocate for episcopacy in the House of Lords, speaking for them as

^k Worthies—Westminster. Fuller's "Worthies of England" was published during the lifetime of Bishop Warner.

long as he had any voice left him, and then willing to have made signs in their just defence if it might have been permitted him." During the Protectorate, Bishop Warner was permitted to remain at Bromley, but of course lost all the revenues of his see. These he recovered on the Restoration. His private means were large, and by his will he left considerable sums toward the repair of Rochester Cathedral, and to the colleges of Magdalen and Balliol, with which he had been connected in Oxford. At Bromley he founded the college for widows of the clergy, which still remains, a worthy memorial of him. He was buried in his own cathedral (Pt. I. § XIII.), the last bishop who has been interred there, and the only one since Bishop Lowe, in the fifteenth century.

[A.D. 1666, translated to York 1683.] JOHN DOLBEN. (See YORK.)

[A.D. 1683, translated in the following year to Ely.] FRANCIS TURNER. (See ELY.)

[A.D. 1684—1713.] THOMAS SPRAT; born in 1636, at Tallaton, in Devonshire, in which village he received his earliest education, proceeded to Wadham College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. In 1659 he wrote a poem on the death of Cromwell, which was published together with others by Dryden and Waller. In this poem Sprat, somewhat anticipating later judgments, declares that Cromwell's fame, "like man, will grow white as it grows old." He took orders after the Restoration, and was made chaplain to Charles II. His "History of the Royal Society," his "Life of Cowley," and other works, procured him considerable reputation, and he became successively Prebendary of Westminster, Canon of Windsor, Dean of Westminster, and, in 1684, Bishop of Rochester.

Although necessarily concerned in the great public events which followed his elevation to the see of Rochester, Bishop Sprat "had neither enthusiasm nor constancy. Both his ambition and his party-spirit were always effectually kept

in order by his love of ease and his anxiety for his own safety. He had been guilty of some criminal compliances, in the hope of gaining the favour of James, had sate in the High Commission, had concurred in several iniquitous decrees pronounced by that Court, and had, with trembling hands and faltering voice, read the Declaration of Indulgence in the choir of the abbey. But there he had stopped. As soon as it began to be whispered that the civil and religious constitution of England would speedily be vindicated by extraordinary means, he had resigned the powers which he had during two years exercised in defiance of law, and had hastened to make his peace with his clerical brethren. He had in the Convention voted for a Regency; but he had taken the oaths without hesitation: he had borne a conspicuous part in the coronation of the new sovereigns, and by his skilful hand had been added to the form of prayer used on the fifth of November those sentences in which the Church expresses her gratitude for the second great deliverance wrought on that day¹. The Bishop, however, was not on perfectly good terms with the Government of William III. "For the feeling which, next to solicitude for his own comfort and repose, seems to have had the greatest influence on his public conduct, was his dislike of the Puritans; a dislike which sprang, not from bigotry, but from Epicureanism. Their austerity was a reproach to his slothful and luxurious life; their phraseology shocked his fastidious taste; and, where they were concerned, his ordinary good-nature forsook him. Loathing the Nonconformists as he did, he was not likely to be very zealous for a prince whom the Nonconformists regarded as their protector^m." Either from this cause, or with some other object which it is impossible to discover, Bishop Sprat was chosen by Robert Young, in 1692, as one of the persons

¹ Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, iv. 249.

^m *Ibid.*, p. 250.

whose names were to be appended to a forged document purporting to be an "Association for the Restoration of James II." The paper was concealed in a flower-pot at Bromley, and the Government was informed of the pretended 'plot.' The Bishop was taken into custody, and after more than one examination the villany of Young was discovered^a.

Bishop Sprat died in 1713, and was buried at Westminster. He is said to have been the first to check the custom of 'humming,' with which popular preachers were encouraged by their audiences. When Burnet preached, part of his congregation hummed so loudly and so long that he sat down to enjoy it. When Sprat preached, he likewise was honoured with the same animating hum, but he stretched out his hand to the congregation, and cried, "Peace! peace! I pray you peace!" "This," says Dr. Johnson, "I was told in my youth by an old man who had been no careless observer of the passages of those times^b."

On the score of his few poetical works, which are now quite forgotten, Bishop Sprat has obtained a place among Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."

[A.D. 1713, deprived 1723.] FRANCIS ATTERBURY, "a man who holds a conspicuous place in the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of England," was born in 1662, at Middleton in Buckinghamshire, of which parish his father was rector. He was educated at Westminster School, and "carried thence to Christ Church a stock of learning which, though really scanty, he through life exhibited with such judicious ostentation that superficial observers believed his attainments to be immense." At Oxford he distinguished himself in defence of the doctrines of the English Church,

^a For a full narrative of Young's plot, see Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* iv. 244—253.

^b Life of Sprat.

then (under James II.) attacked by Papists and 'perverts.' He took orders after the Revolution, and became one of the King's chaplains, but continued to reside principally in Oxford, where he soon became involved in the famous controversy of Boyle with Bentley concerning the "Epistles of Phalaris." The reply to Bentley's first dissertation, although it bears the name of Boyle, was in reality the work of Atterbury, who had been Boyle's tutor, and is his masterpiece, giving "a much higher notion of his power than any of those works to which he put his name." "It is the most extraordinary instance that exists of the art of making much show with little substance." When, two years afterwards, Bentley's reply appeared, entirely demolishing all the arguments of Atterbury, the latter was actively engaged in defending the powers of the Lower House of Convocation, concerning which a considerable dispute had arisen. "By the great body of the clergy he was regarded as the ablest and most intrepid tribune that had ever defended their rights against the oligarchy of prelates." The Lower House of Convocation voted him thanks for his services. The University of Oxford created him a Doctor of Divinity. The Bishop of Exeter made him Archdeacon of Totnes, and soon after the accession of Anne he became Dean of Carlisle.

In the year 1710 Atterbury again distinguished himself on the prosecution of Sacheverell, for whom he composed the speech delivered at the bar of the Lords. He was subsequently removed from the Deanery of Carlisle to that of Christ Church, Oxford, where his "despotic and contentious temper" soon did what it had already done at Carlisle. He was succeeded in both his deaneries by the humane and accomplished Smalridge, who gently complained of the state in which both had been left: "Atterbury goes before and sets everything on fire; I come after him with a bucket of water." From Christ Church he was elevated, in 1713, to

the see of Rochester, with which the Deanery of Westminster had been for some time united.

Atterbury's preferments had been entirely due to his connection with the great Tory party, and he had much reason to dread the accession of the House of Hanover, which was well known to be partial to the Whigs. On the death of Anne he implored his confederates to proclaim James III., but on their refusal he took the oaths to George I., and assisted at the coronation. "But his servility was requited with cold contempt. No creature is so revengeful as a proud man who has humbled himself in vain. Atterbury became the most factious and pertinacious of all the opponents of the Government." In 1717 he began to correspond directly with the Pretender, and was probably concerned in planning the Jacobite insurrection which was to have broken out in 1721. He was then imprisoned, but "had carried on his correspondence with the exiled family so cautiously, that the circumstantial proofs of his guilt, though sufficient to produce entire moral conviction, were not sufficient to justify legal conviction. He could be reached only by a bill of pains and penalties." Such a bill passed both Houses, and provided that "he should be deprived of his spiritual dignities, that he should be banished for life, and that no British subject should hold any intercourse with him except by the royal permission."

He retired accordingly, first to Brussels, and thence to Paris, where he became the leading man among the Jacobite refugees who had assembled there; and after corresponding, almost as his prime minister, with James, Atterbury removed to Montpelier, where he died in 1734. His daughter, who three years before had set out to visit him, died at Toulouse on the same day in which she met her father. The body of Atterbury was brought to England, and laid, with great privacy, under the nave of Westminster. No inscription marks the grave.

In England Atterbury had lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the most eminent men of letters of his time. Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, and Prior were reckoned among his friends; and Pope, who has thus apostrophised him,—

“How charming Atterbury’s softer hour!
How shines his soul, unconquered, in the Tower,”—

found in him “not only a warm admirer, but a most faithful, fearless, and judicious adviser.”

[A.D. 1723—1731.] SAMUEL BRADFORD, chaplain successively to William III. and to Queen Anne, was translated from Carlisle. He was patronised and much esteemed by Archbishop Tillotson, whose sermons he revised for publication.

[A.D. 1731—1756.] JOSEPH WILCOCKS, translated from Gloucester.

[A.D. 1756—1774.] ZACHARY PEARCE, Dean of Westminster, was translated from Bangor. Whilst Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he edited Longinus, and Cicero *de Oratore* and *de Officiis*. He retained the deanery of Westminster after his elevation to Rochester, and desired, in 1763, when he was aged seventy-three, to resign both his preferments. He was permitted to resign his deanery, but, although many precedents might have been found, was told that a resignation of his bishopric was impossible.

[A.D. 1774—1793.] JOHN THOMAS, an “amiable prelate,” who, according to one historian of the see of Rochester, “adorned the purity of the Christian with the urbanity of the gentleman.”

[A.D. 1793, translated to St. Asaph 1802.] SAMUEL HORSLEY, the opponent of Dr. Priestley, with whom he main-

† Macaulay. Life of Atterbury in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. All the passages within inverted commas are from this sketch.

tained a long controversy in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. He was translated to Rochester from St. David's.

[A.D. 1802, translated to Ely 1808.] THOMAS DAMPIER.

[A.D. 1809—1827.] WALKER KING.

[A.D. 1827, translated in the same year to Carlisle.] HUGH PERCY.

[A.D. 1827—1860.] GEORGE MURRAY.

[A.D. 1860.] JOSEPH COTTON WIGRAM.



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